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ABSTRACT

The following 11 papers, on a variety of topics, were given at the 1990 meeting of the American Journalism Historians' Association: (1) "They Hang Editors Don't They?: Free Speech and Free Press Issues in the Haymarket Case, 1886" (Nathaniel Hong); (2) "G. K. Chesterton and the British Press, 1911-1933" (Dean Rapp); (3) "Trial by Newspaper in Nineteenth-Century England" (Judith Knelman); (4) "The Halftone and Magazine Reproduction in the United States: From 1880-1900" (Christopher R. Harris); (5) "'...A Beautiful Gesture That Is Perfectly Meaningless...' The ASNE Debate over Teeth in Its Code of Ethics, 1923-1932" (Alf Pratte); (6) "'...To Leave This Beggarly Profession': A Study of Lawyers in Journalism" (Elise D. Nordquist); (7) "The 'New England Courant': Voice of Anglicanism" (Wm. David Sloan); (8) "'Protect the Laborer': Henry Demarest Lloyd and Gilded Age Labor Reporting, 1878-1902" (Richard Digby-Junger); (9) "Science and Sin: The Debate over Prize Fighting in Three Antebellum New York City Newspapers" (Dennis Gildea); (10) "'Hojas Volantes': The Beginning of Print Journalism in the Americas" (Victoria Goff); and (11) "An Inside View of the Immigrant Press: Press Criticism by Two Swedish-American Editors" (Ulf Jonas Bjork). (SR)

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OF THE
AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS' ASSOCIATION

Part 2

Meeting held at Coeur d'Alene, ID, October 2-7, 1990

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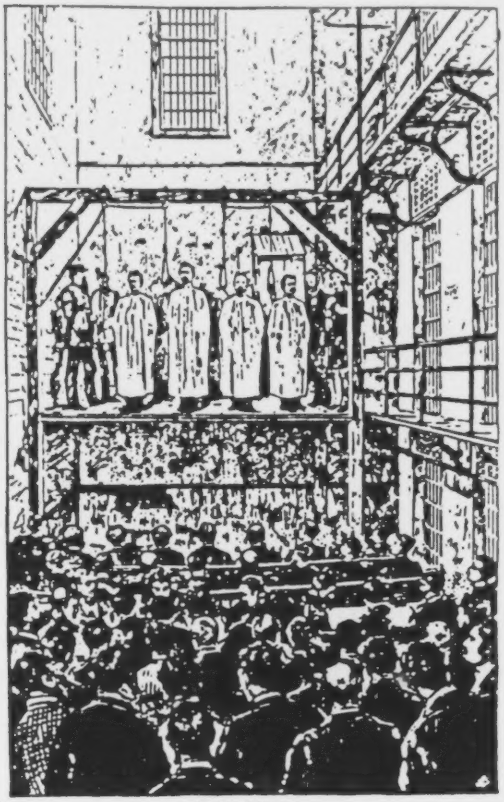
THEY HANG EDITORS DON'T THEY?

Free Speech and Free Press Issues in the Haymarket Case, 1886.



THE EXECUTION.

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Abstract

"They Hang Editors, Don't They?"

This paper focuses on the defendants in the 1886 Haymarket case who were ostensibly on trial for murder, yet the prosecution proceeded in large part to try them for their anarchist beliefs and used their speech activity (newspaper writing and public speaking) to convict them. Much of the political debate surrounding the trial, the death sentences, and the execution of four (another committed suicide just prior to execution) of the defendants took place over the appropriateness of First Amendment protection and the more general freedom of people to hold and express ideas. The case and the debate surrounding it contributed to the development of what the First Amendment has come to mean in America and is among the most extreme examples of the struggle between the press and the state. Yet it is curiously absent in the literature of American journalism history.

THEY HANG EDITORS, DON'T THEY?

Free Speech and Free Press Issues in the Haymarket Case, 1886.

"The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today" - *November 11, 1887*

These were the last words spoken by August Spies, editor of the **Arbeiter Zeitung** , the most widely circulated German-language daily newspaper in Chicago. His voice was muffled by a white bag tied over his head. The hangman had already snugged up the nooses around the necks of Spies and his three companions on the scaffold; Adolph Fischer, composing room foreman at the **Arbeiter-Zeitung** and co-editor of **Der Anarchist**; Albert Parsons, editor of **The Alarm,** the English language organ of the International Working People's Association and George Engel, factory worker and co-editor with Fischer of **Der Anarchist.** [1]

Spies was partly right. Over a hundred years after he and his comrades dropped to their deaths on the scaffold in Chicago, their case has not been forgotten by labor historians and rank-and-file labor activists. The international celebration of May 1st as a workers' holiday has its origin in what is known as the Haymarket case. Yet Spies' prediction fails among one constituency where it by all rights should not, among journalism historians.

Freedom of the press and of expression are touchstones of American journalism historians. We unfailingly note the attacks on freedom of expression from patriot mobs intimidating Loyalist printers and editors during the American Revolution, the fate of anti-Federalist editors under the Alien and Sedition Acts, the killing of abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy by a mob and World War 1 limitations on expression by the federal government, etc. Yet students will search in vain to find the Haymarket case even mentioned in popular contemporary journalism history survey texts nor is the case placed in an American journalism tradition of fighting for speech and press freedoms. [2]

The Haymarket case contains the extremes involved in the problem of government restriction of freedom of speech and press: the right of people to advocate revolutionary changes in society and the state's tendency to suppress that expression, even to the point of killing individuals. The Haymarket defendants advocated social revolution. They were tried with their journalistic product, convicted in one of the most sensational and well publicized trials in 19th century America and executed by the legal system for their beliefs and for publicly communicating them. [3] All the makings of compelling journalism history one would think.

This paper focuses on the free speech and free press aspects of the Haymarket case and shows that these issues were central to it and to the the public debate that surrounded it.

Setting

The last two decades in 19th century America witnessed many rapid and fundamental changes. Among them were a dramatic increase in mechanization, a surge in immigration from Europe, concentration of economic power in fewer hands - the domination of whole industries by individuals, urbanization, and labor organizing itself against the power of capital. These social forces carromed about wildly between 1880-1900 to produce the most socially combative period in the nation's history.

One particularly contentious issue during this period was the reduction of working people's hours from 12 and 14 hours-a-day to eight. Chicago was a hub for the nation's trade and a hot-spot of the eight-hour conflict. During a national strike for the eight-hour day in May, 1886, Chicago police fired upon a crowd of striking workers roughing up scabs outside the McCormick reaper factory. The following evening, the police began to suppress a peaceful rally to protest the police attack. A bomb was thrown among them and seven police ultimately died from the explosion.

The authorities moved swiftly to round up the most active and radical labor advocates in the city and tried eight of them for the crime. They were charged with murder, but were convicted of advocating anarchism, social revolution and the right of the working class to bear arms. 4

Issues in the Trial

Eight anarchist were brought to trial, In addition to Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel the defendants included Louis Lingg, an organizer for the Chicago local of the International Carpenters and Joiners Union and delegate to the Chicago Central Labor Union; Michael Schwab, associate editor of the **Arbeiter-Zeitung**, Oscar Neebe, director of the Socialistic Publishing Society, the publisher of the **Arbeiter-Zeitung** and Samuel Fielden, charter member of Chicago's first Teamsters union and active in the free-thinking Chicago Liberal League.

They faced a deliberately excessive and complex indictment of 69 separate counts of culpability for the Haymarket bomb and the murder of one officer Degan. Jury pool selection was controlled by a special state-appointed bailiff who boasted that

> "I am managing this case and know what I am about. These fellows are going to be hanged as certain as death. I am calling such men as the defendants will have to challenge peremptorily and waste their time and challenges. Then they will have to take such men as the prosecution wants." 5

States Attorney Julius Grinnel opened the prosecution's case on July 15th, 1886 with a statement of what he hoped to prove. The murder charges, the legal basis for the case, rested upon Grinnel's intention to prove an enormous conspiracy involving the eight defendants to violently overthrow established government and public order commencing on May 4th in Chicago with the bomb thrown amongst the police at the Haymarket Square meeting. Two newspapers were allegedly at the center of this conspiracy, **The Alarm** and the **Arbeiter-Zeitung**. Five of the defendants were employed at these papers.

Much of the prosecution's case rested upon the contents of the two papers and the public speeches of the defendants, stretching back many years prior to the Haymarket meeting. 6 Although unrelated to the murder charge, Grinnel artfully wove into his opening statement what was to become the actual case. In his first sentence, Grinnel glued the political doctrine of the defendants to the murder charge: "For the first time in the history of our country are people on trial for their lives for endeavoring to make Anarchy the rule and in that attempt for ruthlessly and awfully destroying life." 7

The prosecution's case utterly failed to prove any direct connection between the defendants and the bomb throwing. The defendants could not be proved direct accessories to the murder of officer Degan because the identity of the bomb thrower remained a complete mystery. Grinnel had to content himself with attempting to prove a moral responsibility for encouraging the bomb throwing by a careful culling of **Arbeiter-Zeitung** and **Alarm** articles and editorials and the defendant's public speeches.

This portion of the prosecution's case relied heavily on the testimony of reporters from Chicago's mainstream papers who had covered the Haymarket protest meeting and earlier public meetings the defendants had participated in. What Grinnel proved and the defendants did not dispute, was that the anarchists held social revolution historically inevitable, that they expected the struggle with the old order would be violent and that they counselled the working class to be prepared, to arm themselves and to defend their rights.

The defense attorneys directed their case during testimony towards refuting the legal charge of murder and conspiracy. Moses Salomen opened the defense by saying: "Our object is simply to show that these defendants are not guilty of the murder with which they are charged in this indictment." 8 Grinnel had stated that he "wanted to hang socialism and Anarchy", and Salomen answered in his opening statement that the defendants had the right to hold and "the right to express their ideas. They had the right" 9 This was an aside, however, and the defense's case rested exclusively on disproving the murder charge in its particulars.

The exposure of the explicit political underpinnings of the trial was left for the final arguments. The prosecution dropped all pretence when it summed up the case to the jury, saying, "Law is on trial. Anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by the grand jury and indicted because they were leaders. They are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. Gentlemen of the jury, convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society." 10

The defendants were aware of the irony of the situation. Parsons noted, "We were told by the prosecution that law is on trial; that Government is on trial. That is what the gentlemen on the other side stated to the jury... Well up to near the conclusion of this trial, we, the defendants supposed that we were indicted and being tried for murder." **11** William Foster, another defense attorney, expressed his exasperation with Grinnel's outburst by stating:

> If these men are to be tried on general principles, for advocating doctrines opposed to our ideas of propriety, there is no use for me to argue this case. Let the sheriff go and erect the scaffold... Let us stop this farce now if the verdict is to be upon prejudice and general principles. **12**

Foster and the other defense attorneys need not have gone further. His worst fear was realized when the jury retired and reached its verdict with unseemly haste: All Guilty, Seven to Hang.

Defendants' View of the Case as a Denial of Free Speech

The guilty verdict was brought in on August 20th, 1886 and the defendants had until October 7th to mull over the proceedings before articulating their thoughts before Judge Gary. All the defendants spoke to the question of why sentence should not be passed and their speeches remain among this nation's most eloquent courtroom oratory and some of its most incisive, passionate political criticism. As a group, the defendants were widely read (with the possible exception of Lingg, whose youth and proclivity was more toward impulsive action than contemplation); they were experienced and able public speakers; and the death sentences hanging over them (with the exception of Neebe) gave their words a singular edge and power.

Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Neebe and Parsons were especially conscious of the constitutional dimensions of the case. Spies concluded his speech to the court saying:

> Have we broken any laws by showing to the people how these abuses, that have occurred for the last twenty years, are invariably pursuing one object, viz: to establish an oligarchy in this country so strong and powerful and monstrous as never before existed in any country? I can well understand why that man Grinnel did not urge upon the grand jury to charge us with treason. You cannot try and convict a man for treason who has upheld the constitution against those who trample it under their feet. It would not have been as easy a job to do that, Mr. Grinnel, as to charge these men with murder.
>
> Now these are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I if I could. And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day; if you think you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows; if you would once more have people suffer the penalty of death because they dared to tell the truth --- and I defy you to show us where we have told a lie --- I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price. Call your hangman! Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ, in Giordano Bruno, in Hus, in Galileo still lives --- they and other whose numbers are legion have preceded us on this path. We are ready to follow. [13]

Fielden and Parsons both highlighted how the trial had changed from a murder case to the trial of a political philosophy and that constitutional protections for political thought and public discourse had been abandoned in the process. Fielden noted:

> If I had known I was being tried for Anarchy I could have answered that charge. I could have justified it under the constitutional right of every citizen of this country, and more than the right which any constitution can give, the natural right of the human mind to draw its conclusions from whatever

> information it can gain, but I had no opportunity to show why I was an Anarchist. **14**

Parsons also noted the changed nature of the charges against them and with great sarcasm charged the prosecution with anarchy, as Grinnel had so repetitively misused the term:

> They are the real real Anarchists in this case, while we stand upon the constitution of the United States. I have violated no laws of this country. Neither I nor my colleagues have violated any legal right of American citizens. We stand upon the right of free speech, of free press, of public assemblage, unmolested and undisturbed. We stand upon the constitutional right of self defense, and we defy the prosecution to rob the people of America of these dearly bought rights. But the prosecution imagines that they have triumphed because they propose to put to death seven men. Seven men to be exterminated in violation of the law, because they insist upon the inalienable right of free speech and exercise it. **15**

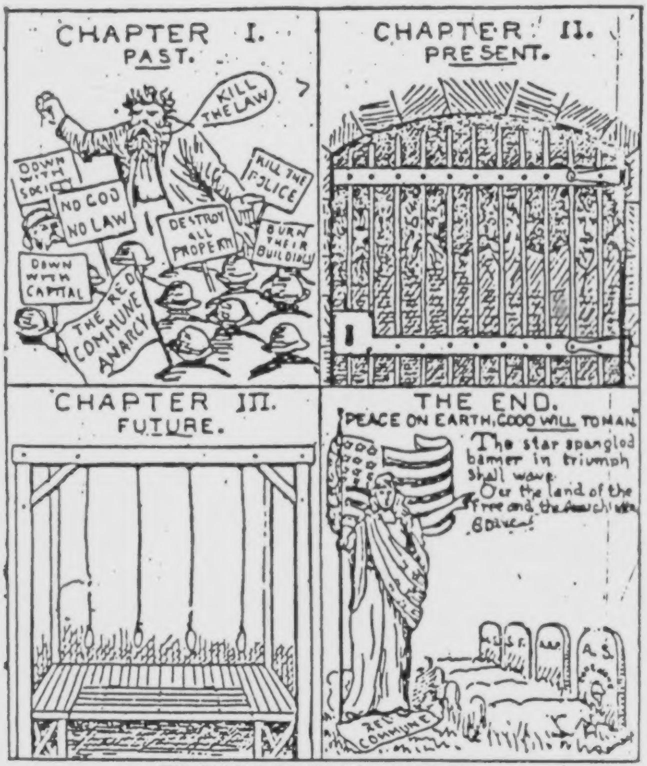
As editors of newspapers, Parsons and Spies went to some length in their speeches to lay before the court samples of the violent content in mainstream newspapers of their day. These examples included the **Chicago Tribune** recommending putting strychnine in bread given to tramps and the **Chicago Times** championing the throwing of hand grenades "among these Union sailors who are striving to obtain higher wages and less hours. By such treatment they would be taught a valuable lesson and other strikers could take warning from their fate." **16** Parsons and Spies made it clear that counselling violence in newspapers per se was not a punishable crime, except when it appeared in labor papers and was directed against the employing class.

The constitutional concerns over free speech, free press, free assembly and freedom to bear arms resonated throughout the defendant's final speeches. The defendants felt betrayed by what they took to be the contravention of American traditions and the country's constitutional protections. The defendants did not evoke these rights and freedoms cynically, nor as some bitter last minute maneuver to embarrass the state. Their own political ideology encompassed and went beyond the constitutional notions about the protections of various freedoms. They were arguing, and not without bitter justification, that the state's case against them suddenly was reigning in the boundaries of freedom the state itself had set. The defendants asserted that although American society formally adhered to the value of wide freedom for public discussion and protected them in its founding documents, this did not prevent the state from executing anarchists for what they said in their speeches and newspapers.

The Chicago Tribune's Editorial View of Free Speech and the Anarchists:

The notion that the Haymarket case revolved around free speech and press issues was strenuously denounced by the mainstream American press in America. The approach of the **Chicago Tribune** was typical and its editorial page content was nationally respected and items from it were frequently reprinted by other newspapers. The **Tribune** was a bitter opponent of radical working-class ideology. Nor did it like energetic working-class reform efforts such as the eight-hour movement. Socialism and anarchism were a complete anathema to its conception of American life and the newspaper's editorial page exploited the Haymarket 'riot' and the anarchists' trial to root out and destroy these as dangerous and alien ideologies.

The essentials of the **Tribune's** editorial attack are all contained in a cartoon published May 16, 18886. It is quite striking in that it appeared eleven days before anyone was even indicted by the grand jury, yet it was a terse and prophetic account of what followed.


CHAPTER I.
PAST.
KILL THE LAW
DOWN WITH SOCI
NO GOD NO LAW
KILL THE POLICE
DESTROY ALL PROPERTY
BURN THEIR BUILDINGS
DOWN WITH CAPITAL
THE RED COMMUNE ANARCHY
CHAPTER II.
PRESENT.
CHAPTER III.
FUTURE.
THE END.
PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MAN
The star spangled banner in triumph shall wave
Oer the land of the free and the Anarchists
RED COMMUNE
A.S.

THE HISTORY OF ANARCHY IN CHICAGO.
Respectfully dedicated to all native political demagogs and foreign malcontents.

The first panel presented the **Tribune's** fearful misconception of anarchist intentions (Down with Society, Destroy all Property, absurd positions that no anarchist held). The second panel contained caricatures immediately recognizable to readers of the day as Michael Schwab, Samuel

Fielden, Albert Parsons and August Spies. The detail in their eyes made them look cowardly and afraid as they gazed through the bars of their cell toward the third panel containing the gallows set for them. Panel four showed their gravestones engraved with their initials. A virtuous, patriotic woman swathed in Old Glory ground the red commune banner into the earth, surrounded by the heavenly host announcing the demise of the offending anarchists.

The **Tribune** took umbrage with the anarchists for their misunderstanding and abuse of the American concept of free speech. A May 7th editorial entitled "Stamp Out the Anarchists" complained that

> "Not an effort has been made to drive out, chain, or suppress these political mad dogs, but they have been allowed to pursue their frenzied course without the slightest interference from municipal authorities. In accordance with certain popular, but delusive and misplaced notions about the sacredness of free speech and free print, the anarchists have been permitted to advocate murder, arson, and pillage as the means for the overthrow of American government and destruction of American society. 17

The **Tribune** editorial was attacking the delusive and misplaced notions of the Democratic Mayor Harrison of Chicago, who had not suppressed the free speech and assembly for radicals in the city. A May 9th editorial quoted extensively from another Chicago paper which had also attacked the mayor's position on free speech

> He has been emitting some other nonsense about free speech, free printing, etc. that cannot suffer to pass unchallenged... Not a single number of the red flag organ has been issued that was not a violation of the liberty of the press by being a publication contrary to public order and good morals. Not a single number of that publication has appeared that did not contain ample foundation for its indictment and suppression, and for the indictment and imprisonment

> of every person that participated in its publication, from editor Spies and Directors Carl Schering, Fritz Reuter, and Joseph Bach, down to the most insignificant compositor and newsboy that sets the types or delivered the lawless concern to its lawless readers. 18

Not coincidentally, this was precisely what happened to Spies' paper, the **Arbeiter-Zeitung**. Everyone down to the newsboy was arrested, the paper's property was confiscated, the landlord turned them out of their quarters and every printshop in Chicago refused to print another issue. Oscar Neebe was included in the grand jury's indictment simply because he assumed responsibility to keep the paper going after the arrest of Spies and Schwab.

A May 11th editorial made plain where the **Tribune** would draw the line on speech. They were incensed that

> Schwab, Spies, Fielden and Parsons lay great stress upon the constitutional right of free speech... Where do they find the authority that allows them to assail the right of life, of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to stop lawful vocations, to wage war against social order and public security, and to conspire against every right of property. 19

Speech attacking the rights of property or advocating socialism was an abuse of free speech. Therein lay the bold crime of the anarchists and their journalistic efforts. The **Tribune's** remedy was simple: that kind of speech must end and its messengers be made an example of. Here are only a few suggestions echoed in the **Tribune's** pages: On May 7th it quoted the **Kansas City Journal**, "What Chicago needs just now is a police that will kill. It seems fortunate enough to have that sort." 20 On May 9th it quoted the **Cleveland Leader**, "If a few boss Anarchists should be hanged in

Chicago, America would still be the land of the free, but it would no longer be despised as the country of the free and easy." 21 The **Minneapolis Tribune** was quoted saying, "A few quiet executions will gratify the decent people of Chicago. When these hangings occur we may lose some of our journalistic brethren of the dynamite type, but they can be spared." 22

Free speech for Chicago radicals was denied immediately after the Haymarket 'riot'. All their newspapers were suppressed, meetings were not allowed and in two days following May 4th "fifty gathering places of anarchists and socialists were raided." 23 The several weeks following the riot "saw the detention of hundreds of men and women, most of them foreigners, who were put through the 'third degree' to extract information and confessions." 24

The evidentiary portion of the the prosecution's case provided the **Tribune** the opportunity to cheerlead their side's efforts, but as constitutional rights were not argued , the paper did not comment editorially on the question. They did, however, continue to press for the suppression of sympathetic meetings held on the defendants behalf. A July 25th editorial demanded that "The mayor of the city ought to take measures to prevent this meeting, which can hardly fail to be of an incendiary character." 25 The meeting in question had been called to protest the mainstream newspapers' treatment of the trial.

Defense attorney Salomen's opening remarks for the defense did elicit a comment on August 1st. "He claimed for them the right to preach Anarchism and Socialism. They had 'the right to express their ideas'---in other words to preach wholesale murder." 26

The verdict was hailed by the **Tribune** with the headline "The Law Throttles Them" and included their thoughts about its salutary effects on public discourse.

> The bearings of this verdict, however, extend far beyond local limits. It has killed Anarchism in Chicago, and those who sympathize with its horrible doctrines will speedily emigrate from her borders or at least never again make a sign of their sentiments. It goes further than this. it is a warning to the whole brood of vipers in the Old World --- to the communists in France, the Socialists of Belgium, the Anarchist of Germany, the Nihilist of Russia --- that they cannot come to this country and abuse its hospitality and its right to free speech by conspiring against the lives and property of the community and the authority of its Government without encountering the stern decree of American law... It has ended the careers of the Mosts, Fieldens, Spieses and Parsones. It has furled forever the red and black flags which have so long been flaunted in our faces... Anarchy at last is throttled. 27

On August 23, the **Tribune** responded to a condemnation of the verdict by Joe Gruenhut, a Chicago public official by calling for his removal and being kept under police surveillance. It concluded the piece by saying

> In his closing argument Mr. Grinnel said that it is the duty of the authorities to arrest and punish at once the inflammatory speakers who incite to breaches of the peace or who threaten to resist the law. It would be well to begin at once in this direction. Incendiary harangues have been tolerated too long in Chicago. They have wrought enough mischief. 28

The **Tribune's** editorials on the final speeches of the defendants were most notable in that they did not rise to answer the defendant's constitutional arguments. The lead article in Sunday, October 10th was headlined "REDS SPECIOUS PLEAS: The People Generally Should Not Be Deceived By Them." The article was a catalog of excerpts from the defendants speeches, followed by terse **Tribune** arguments aimed at proving how wrong, nonsensical and criminal the anarchists' positions were.

Significantly, none of the defendants' constitution-based arguments were reprinted or refuted. For the **Tribune** the case had gone beyond those questions. These men were murder convicts, malevolence incarnate, anarchists "guilty of treason in its most odious form." [29]

The most direct response to constitutional arguments came in an October 12th editorial entitled "Not a Good Country for Anarchists" and it had an expansive air of finality about these questions. It noted that

> a certain class of persons, immigrants from Continental Europe, and many of them, perhaps as many as half, not naturalized, are dissatisfied, with the existing affairs in America. They complain of repression and scoff at American liberty... We have no welcome for the miscreants who assault American civilization and plot to destroy it; no welcome for aliens who deny the right of citizens to earn and own property individually; no welcome for those who would build up a Socialistic poorhouse system by anarchical means. To all such we say stay away or go away. Between the liberty we enjoy and Nihilism, which the Anarchists advocate, the difference is as wide as the poles of the universe --- as far apart as Heaven from Hell. This mighty nation, with its almost inexhaustible resources, its universal suffrage (sic), its system of free schools, its ten millions of families who are property owners, its great industries, its wonderful inventions, its wide intelligence, its perfect freedom regulated by law, must live though every Anarchist in America be hanged and every preacher of anarchy be jailed or expelled from the country. Yes, this country is a good place from which the disciples of Most, Fichte, Spies, Marx, and LaSalle, and persons like Krafts, should emigrate. It will be a better place after they leave. [30]

Or if not better, certainly a quieter place.

Post Trial Discussion of Free Speech/Free Press Questions

It was roughly one year between the end of the trial and the executions.

The sentence was stayed while an appeal was made to the Illinois Supreme Court, which affirmed the convictions and to the U.S. Supreme Court which declined to review the case. It was also a period during which the passions surrounding the riot and trial quieted ever so slightly, enough at least for some liberal thinkers to begin raising questions about the fairness of the trial, the verdict, sentences and the erosion of constitutional protection.

One pamphlet circulating during this time was particularly effective in raising doubts about the conduct of the trial and the guilt of the defendants. Titled Was it a Fair Trial, it was written by General M. M. Trumbull, a Chicago lawyer with little sympathy for the defendants' political philosophy. Trumbull, nonetheless, viewed the trial and verdict as a fundamental attack on the constitutional protection of free speech.

> Free debate is the American crucible in which all our political theories must be tried and purified. The crime of consequential murder constructed out of a turbulent rant and political bombast is out of harmony with American law. The genius of it is a vicious and dangerous principle expelled from England many years ago. Let it prevail in America, and liberty of speech is gone. **31**

Trumbull also noted the changed essence of the case from a murder trial to a political trial in a section entitled "The Repeal of the Constitution".

> The false expedient [of the murder charge] had served its purpose and was then dropped. Even the very newspapers that flogged the passions of the people up to madness never speak of the anarchists as murderers, nor their crime as murder. They always speak of the men as anarchists, and of their crime as anarchy. There is method in this, because death for anarchy contains more warning in it than death for murder. It strikes more terror to the multitude. It is more novel and picturesque; more comprehensive too, because a mere strike for more wages and less hours, a meeting, a picnic, a procession, a trades union, a public speech, or a private conversation, may

> each and all be anarchy according to the precedent set by the Supreme Court of Illinois. 32

Trumbull went on to conjecture that "had the Illinois rulings been good law in Jefferson's time, he might have been hanged at any period of his active political career." 33

Trumbull's concerns were shared by a growing number of people of conscience and protests against the trial and sentence became international in scope. Literary luminaries especially viewed the trial with alarm as an attack upon freedom of thought and speech. William Dean Howells never "Believed them guilty of murder or of anything else but their opinions." 34 George Bernard Shaw saw the case involving "a question alone of freedom of speech and opinion." 35 William Morris denounced America as a "society corrupt to the core, and at this moment engaged in suppressing freedom with just the same reckless brutality and blind ignorance as the Czar of All the Russias uses." 36

Even conservatives like Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor argued against the verdict as "Thousands and hundreds of thousands of labor men all over the world would consider that these men had been executed because they were standing up for free speech and free assemblage." 37 The Knights of Labor trade union newspaper carried a series of autobiographical sketches of the Haymarket defendants beginning in October, 1886 under the headline 'the only true history of the men who claim they are CONDEMNED TO DEATH for exercising the right of Free Speech." 38

But neither the appeals of the famous nor the faceless mass who signed petitions by the tens of thousands could stop the executions. Governor

Oglesby commuted the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment. Lingg committed suicide, a last defiant gesture to rob his tormentors of the satisfaction of putting him to death. Spies, Parsons, Fischer and Engel were hung to death on November 11, 1887.

The Pardon

The case did not die with the reverberation of trap doors dropping on the scaffold. The three imprisoned defendants remained a rallying point for those left uneasy by the case. A concerted effort was begun to gain a pardon for Fielden, Schwab and Neebe.

Two events added weight to the appeal. In 1889 the principal police officers responsible for the Haymarket riot and anarchist prosecution, Inspector Bonfield and Captain Schaack, were exposed as the recipients of large amounts of protection money from saloon keepers, prostitutes and thieves, as well as being fences for stolen goods. The story broke in the **Chicago Times** in January and "Bonfield had the editors arrested and tried to shut down the paper." **39** Despite his recent practice, he was unsuccessful. He and Schaack were disgraced and dismissed from the force.

Another revelation appeared in the **Chicago Herald** on January 4th, 1892 under the headline "WILL BLEED NO MORE: Moneyed Men Tie Their Purses, Police Given $487,000 in Five Years for Wiping Reds." The story went on to detail how the leading capitalists of Chicago had been milked for years by the police with the promise to stamp out Anarchism "until anarchy was buried as deep as Spies and Parsons and their pals." **40**

A pardon became a real possibility with the election of a new governor, John Peter Atgeld, who assumed office in January, 1893. Public sentiment in favor of a pardon had risen. Clarence Darrow argued the case for release to Governor Atgeld. Atgeld, who also was a lawyer, examined the trial records slowly and carefully over the first six months of 1893 and then acted.

Atgeld could have pardoned the men without comment or as a matter of mercy. His moral sense required him to do otherwise and in addition to pardoning the remaining three defendants, he issued an accompanying lengthy review of the case. In it he made it plain that he thought the jury had been packed and that the murder charges had not been proven. His text included a common criticism that Judge Gary had conducted the trial with "malicious ferocity." 41 The governor's document not only pardoned the three anarchist prisoners, but it reached across the grave to exonerate all eight defendants.

Atgeld knew the pardon would cause a furor and maybe end his political career. The **Chicago Tribune** was especially vindictive and charged that he did not have "a drop of American blood in his veins. He does not reason like an American, does not feel like one, and consequently does not behave like one." 42

The case of the Haymarket anarchists remains something of an invisible ghost in the journalism history field. The callous opinion of the **Minneapolis Tribune** that these journalistic brethren could be spared to execution by the state has been accepted by default by the journalism history field. Why?

Several possibilities for this state of affairs seem plausible.

1. The case invites the aversion of our eyes. The sentence was so stark,

wrong, violent and grisly that we do no want to admit it of our institutions. The case remains an ugly affront to many of our cherished national and media myths about freedom, tolerance and objectivity. We may wish to file it away as totally anomalous and so without historical significance.

2. Charging the defendants with murder served to keep the main body of the trial away from constitutional questions. Only in the final speeches of the defendants was the political nature and the constitutional concerns substantially addressed. A cursory look at the case may miss the constitutional ingredients, because while they were at the heart of the political debate surrounding the trial, they were found only incidentally in the trial record.

3. Anarchism is such a marginal and discredited political movement in our society. The mainstream press played an enormous role in this process and achieved success to the point where the Haymarket case can be raised and put to rest in the short phrase "the anarchist case". [43] A kind of political illiteracy may make us believe there is no need to look further.

4. The mainstream press of the period bears some responsibility for the passion, prejudice and reckless abandon with which the case proceeded. [44] It is uncomfortable to admit that guilt and unearth the disturbing role the media can play in calling for the violent repression of speech and press and empowering the irrational, the paranoid and the vindictive in a society seeking conformity.

Whatever the reasons for the neglect, let us begin to give these men and the Haymarket case their due as contributors to American free press/free speech traditions and values.

END NOTES

1. Albert Parsons had the longest journalism career of the defendants, including working as a "printer's devil" with the Galveston, Texas **Daily News** in 1860, founding and editing the weekly Waco, Texas **Spectator** and corresponding for the Houston **Daily Telegraph** in 1869 and the Texas **Agriculturist** in 1873. Parsons worked as a typesetter at Chicago's **Inter-Ocean** and at the Chicago **Times**. After making a name as a labor agitator and political radical, Parsons was blacklisted from the composing room of Chicago's mainstream newspapers (Once hustled out of Joseph Medill's **Tribune** at gunpoint with the threat "I've a mind to blow your brains out.") Parsons edited the International Working People's Association (IWPA) weekly (later fortnightly) paper, **The Alarm** from October 1884 until his arrest. Paul Avrich, historian of American anarchism, estimates that the IWPA had 5,000 members at its height in 1885 and had approximately three times as many sympathizers and supporters. (See pp. 82-84 of The Haymarket Tragedy, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1984 for the method and problems involved in making this estimate.)

August Spies edited the German-language daily **Arbeiter-Zeitung** from 1880 until his arrest. The paper had a circulation of about 4,000 at the time of the Haymarket incident. Spies and Michael Schwab surreptitiously continued their editorial contributions to the newspaper while awaiting execution and after the authorities allowed it to reappear.

Michael Schwab worked as an associate editor of the **Arbeiter-Zeitung.** Adolph Fischer was that newspaper's composing room foreman and Oscar Neebe was a director of the Socialistic Publishing Society, the publisher of the **Arbeiter-Zeitung**, and he edited it briefly after Spies and Schwab were arrested, up until his own arrest.

George Engel and Fischer edited a shortlived and ephemeral newspaper **Der Anarchist** which represented the a more autonomist, intransigent anarchism that was distrustful of even the organizational structure of the IWPA.

The other two defendants, Samuel Fielden and Louis Lingg were anarchists active in Chicago's labor movement. Fielden as a charter member of Chicago's first teamsters union and Lingg was an organizer for the Chicago local of the International Carpenters and Joiners Union. Lingg was also a delegate to the Chicago Central Labor Union. Parsons and Fischer were members of Chicago's Typographical Union.

2. The only arguable exception the researcher is aware of is John Lofton's The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment. Columbia, S.C., University of South Carolina Press, 1980. The

Haymarket case is the centerpiece of the chapter "Freedom of the Press for Political and Labor Radicals" pp.116-135. Lofton's primary point is that the mainstream press fomented intolerance and eviscerated the First Amendment.

3. Defendant Michael Schwab was correct in all essentials in complaining that "Anarchy was on trial...a doctrine, an opinion, hostile to brute force, hostile to our present murderous system of production and distribution. I am condemned to die for writing newspaper articles and making speeches." Parsons, Lucy, ed., Famous Speeches of the Eight Chicago Anarchists, N.Y., Arno Press, 1969, p. 25. Historian Paul Avrich assesses the Haymarket case thus: ".....Haymarket [case] demonstrated, in more dramatic form than any other event of the post-Civil War era, both the iniquities of American capitalism and the limitations of American justice. In addition, it marked the first "Red'Scare" in American history, sparking a campaign of radical-baiting and repression that has rarely if ever been surpassed. Like the Dreyfuss case in France, it was one of those episodes that divide a nation, arousing deep-seated emotions, defining loyalties, and spawning a literature if social criticism and protest. No other case of the period attracted more widespread attention. For it had a significance that made it symbolic of its time and place, elevating it to the level of genuine tragedy and revealing an aspect of American society that would not otherwise have been so nakedly and harshly exposed. So many forces were at work, so many issues and principles at stake, that for decades afterwards it continued to haunt the nation's conscience." The Haymarket Tragedy, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1984, p. xii.

4. The two primary scholarly studies of the Haymarket case are Henry David's The History of the Haymarket Affair: A study in the American Social-Revolutionary and Labor Movements, N. Y., Farrar & Rinehart, 1936 and Paul Avrich's The Haymarket Tragedy, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1984. Dave Roediger and Franklin Rosemount's Haymarket Scrapbook, Chicago, Charles Kerr, 1986 is an able and interesting collection of contemporary documents and later commentary on the case.

5. Quoted by Phillip Foner in The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs, N. Y., Monad Press, 1983, p. 7.

6. The prosecution was not in a position to prove any direct responsibility and hoped to prove a conspiracy to throw the bomb. They lacked the principal actor in the conspiracy, the bomb-thrower, and thus fell back on the device of proving a type of moral responsibility for the act. State prosecutor Julius Grinnel consulted Melville Stone, editor of the Chicago Daily News , who tendered the following advice: "I at once took the ground that the identity of the bombthrower was of no consequence, and that, inasmuch as Spies and Parson and Fielden had advocated over and over again the use of violence against the police, and had urged the manufacture and throwing of bombs, their culpability was clear." Quoted by Avrich, p. 243.

7. Schaack, Michael, Anarchy and Anarchists, Chicago, F.J. Schulte Co., 1889, p. 390.

8. Schaack, Op. Cit., p. 480.

9. Ibid.

10. Parsons, Albert, Anarchism, Westport, Ct., Greenwood, 1970, p.53.

11. Parsons, Lucy, ed., Life of Albert Parsons, Chicago, Lucy Parsons publisher, 1903, p. 142.

12. Avrich, Paul, The Haymarket Tragedy, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 284.

13. Parsons, Lucy, ed., Famous Speeches of the Eight Chicago Anarchists, N.Y., Arno Press, 1969, p. 24.

14. Ibid., p. 42.

15. Ibid., p. 73.

16. Ibid., p. 76.

17. **Chicago Tribune**, May 7, 1886, "Stamp Out the Anarchists", p. 4.

18. Ibid., May 9, 1886, "How Harrison Treated the Anarchists", p. 4.

19. Ibid., May 11, 1886, "The Abuse of Free Speech", p. 4.

20. Ibid., May 7, 1886, "Voice of the Press", p. 9.

21. Ibid., May 9, 1886, "Voice of the Press", p. 6.

22. Ibid.

23. Avrich, Op. Cit., p. 221.

24. Ibid.

25. **Chicago Tribune**, July 25, 1886, "Terrorist Societies in Chicago", p. 4.

26. Ibid., August 1, 1886, "A Virtual Confession of Guilt", p. 4.

27. Ibid., August 21, 1886, "The Law Throttles Them", p. 4.

28. Ibid., August 23, 1886, "Suppress the Anarchist Spouters", p. 4.

29. Ibid., October 10, 1886, "Reds Specious Pleas", p. 4.

30. Ibid., October 12, 1886, "Not a Good Country for Anarchists", p. 4.

31. Trumbull, General M. M., The Trial of the Judgement, Chicago, Health and Home Publishing Co., 1888, pp. 72 and 68.

32. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

33. Ibid., p. 70.

34. Avrich, Op. Cit., p. 339.

35. Ibid., p. 353.

36. Ibid., p. 352.

37. David, Henry. The History of the Haymarket Affair, New York, Collier Books, 1963, p. 370.

38. Quoted by Phillip Foner in The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs, N. Y., Monad Press, 1983, p. 12.

39. David, Henry. Op. Cit., p. 415.

40. Parsons, Famous Speeches..., Op. Cit., p. 8.

41. Atgeld, John P., Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists, Chicago, Charles Kerr Co., 1986, p. 57.

42. Avrich, Op. Cit., p. 424.

43. See John Lofton's The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment. Columbia, S.C., University of South Carolina Press, 1980, especially the chapter "Freedom of the Press for Political and Labor Radicals" pp.116-135. Also Nathaniel Hong's University of Minnesota MA thesis (1989) "The Development, Use and Judicial Review of United State's Immigration Law to Suppress Free Speech: The Anarchists' Experience 1886-1924", chapter "The Anarchist Beast: The Anti-Anarchist Crusade in Periodical Literature, 1886-1903." (pp. 20-71)

44. Carl Sandburg, the American poet, later remembered the trial and coverage this way: "We heard about it, read about it, and talked about it, from May 5 through every day of that year of 1886. Then came the murder trial of the eight men and we saw in the Chicago papers black-and-white drawings of their faces and they looked exactly like what we expected, hard mean, slimy faces. We saw pictures of the twelve men of the jury and they looked like what we expected, nice, honest, decent faces. We learned the word for the men on trial, anarchists, and they hated the rich and called policemen 'bloodhounds.' They were not regular people and they didn't belong to the human race, for they seemed more like slimy animals who prowl, sneak, and kill in the dark." Always the Young Strangers, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1952, p.132

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G. K. CHESTERTON AND THE BRITISH PRESS, 1911-1933

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Abstract

G. K. Chesterton and the British Jewish Press, 1911-1933

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874-1936), the British journalist and author, has long had a reputation amongst the general educated public for being anti-Semitic. Those unfamiliar with the many specialized studies about him might therefore be surprised to learn that for well over a decade there has been an increasingly lively debate amongst Chestertonians about whether he was indeed anti-Semitic, and if so, to what degree. But throughout the growing body of literature on the subject, there is remarkably little comment on the response of Jews themselves to Chesterton during his lifetime. In fact, the specific evidence of his comments causing pain amongst Jews is currently so scanty that a recent (1988) expositor could even claim that in Chesterton's "own day there was no hue and cry, whether from Jews or others" against his anti-Jewish language. This essay demonstrates, however, that such a hue and cry against him was raised by at least one important section of the Anglo-Jewish community--its press, as represented by the leading Jewish weekly, the Jewish Chronicle and its sister publication, the Jewish World, an illustrated weekly. Based upon a systematic survey of these two papers for the years 1910-1936, the essay analyzes their increasingly harsh response to Chesterton's anti-Semitic remarks in his periodical, The New Witness, especially those charging Anglo-Jewry with lack of patriotism during World War I. It points out that no other literary figure or periodical was more frequently denounced by these two Jewish papers than Chesterton and his weekly. Whereas previous commentary on the response of Jews to Chesterton has been based on a few scattered remarks from certain individual Jews who might have praised or condemned him, this essay provides a larger and stronger body of evidence that his anti-Semitism was much more troubling to contemporary Jews, as evidenced in their press, than Chestertonians have hitherto realized. It thus disproves the contention of some of them that there was no Jewish outcry against him, while it strengthens the mainstream view that he was anti-Semitic.

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G. K. Chesterton and the British Jewish Press, 1911-1933

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874-1939), the British journalist and author, has long had a reputation amongst historians, literary critics and the general educated public for antisemitism. They would agree with Colin Holmes, one of the leading historians of early twentieth century British antisemitism, that Chesterton unquestionably exhibited a 'clear hostility to Jews.'[1] Those unfamiliar with the many specialized studies about Chesterton might therefore be surprised to learn that for well over a decade there has been an increasingly lively debate amongst Chestertonians about whether he was indeed antisemitic, and if so, to what degree. His two most recent biographers differ sharply on this issue, one concluding that he was unquestionably antisemitic, the other contending that despite his bitter remarks about Jews, he was not really a racial antisemite.[2]

But throughout this growing literature on the subject, there is remarkably little comment on the response of Jews themselves to Chesterton during his lifetime. Although some Chestertonians recognize the dubiety of the argument, others speculate that he could not have hated Jewishness nor have been regarded as rabidly antisemitic by the Anglo-Jewish community because he spoke to various Jewish groups and had a number of Jewish friends, some of them life-long ones. They also frequently quote in Chesterton's defense a posthumous (1937) tribute to him from Rabbi Stephen Wise, the most prominent leader of American Jewry at the time.[3] On the other hand, some Chesterton scholars have cited a few decidedly negative comments from Chesterton's Jewish contemporaries, most notably those of another American rabbi whose denunciation of Chesterton has elicited a varying response from Chestertonians that well illustrates their disagreements: one dismisses it as 'an hysterical outburst' while another suggests that it reveals 'the pain' that Chesterton's remarks about Jews 'justifiably caused.'[4] But the specific evidence that Chesterton's comments did indeed cause pain amongst Anglo-Jews is thus far scanty enough that a recent apologist buttressed his case against the charge of antisemitism with the unsupported claim that in Chesterton's 'own day there was no hue and cry, whether from Jews or others' against his anti-Jewish language.[5]

However, as this paper demonstrates, there was indeed a hue and cry against Chesterton from at least one important section of the Anglo-Jewish community--its press, as represented by the leading Jewish weekly, the Jewish Chronicle and its sister publication, the Jewish World, an illustrated weekly. Both were edited from 1913 to 1931 by Leopold J. Greenberg (1861-1931), a feisty controversialist who championed an uncompromising Zionism while vigorously protesting against antisemitic actions and writings, not just in Britain, but throughout the world.[6] These papers first noticed Chesterton in 1911, when the Chronicle interviewed him about his attitude towards Jews, and when both reported his lecture on the same subject, given to the West End Jewish Literary Society in London. Although the interview has been reprinted, as have some brief excerpts from the lecture,[7] no one has yet reported the response of the two papers to either. Nor has anyone noted that both papers subsequently published numerous, mostly unfavorable pieces about Chesterton, especially between 1915 and 1921 when his disparaging remarks about Jews provoked thirty-five editorials, news reports and letters to the editor.[8]

The intent of this essay is to examine this new material, but since this will be more understandable and meaningful in the context of current interpretations by Chestertonians of his attitude to the Jews, it is first necessary to summarize them briefly. In addition to the already mentioned some-of-his-best-friends-were-Jews argument, Chesterton's most ardent apologists deny his antisemitism on the basis that although he did make distastefully vitriolic remarks about individual Jews and sections of the Jewish community, he also said sympathetic, understanding things. Some add that he was a Zionist. They furthermore contend, either that he did not accept racial theories, or else that the 'pockets of racism' in his character were not deep-seated or all-pervasive enough to make him truly antisemitic. In his defense they also point out that he remained apparently uninfluenced by the wilder fantasies of a Jewish conspiracy plotting to take over the world, as set forth in the spurious The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and denounced Hitler's persecution of the Jews from its outset in the early 1930s.[9] Other students of Chesterton imply that the term antisemitism need not be reserved for just these most extreme manifestations of it, which they rightly point out Chesterton did not exhibit. Instead, they more broadly define it as some sort of hostility to Jewish individuals, groups or the whole community, and this they do see particularly evident in Chesterton's harsh attacks against Jewish capitalists and politicians, his acceptance of a Jewish international financial conspiracy of a milder sort than that of the Protocols, and his nationalistic belief that as an international community with no fatherland, the Jews were incapable of being loyally patriotic to the countries where they resided.[10]

Whether or not they believe Chesterton was antisemitic, all Chestertonians agree that his attitude to the Jews should be firmly rooted in the context of his time. They thus point to various personal and historical influences that shaped his attitudes to the Jews. Many believe that preeminent amongst these was the Marconi financial scandal of 1912 which implicated several leading government ministers in the unethical purchase, based on inside knowledge, of shares in the American branch of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company before they were released to the general public. Amongst them was the Jewish Attorney General, Sir Rufus Issacs, whose brother, Godfrey Issacs, the managing director of the company, had initiated the financial transactions. During the scandal, Gilbert Chesterton's younger brother Cecil incessantly charged as editor of the weekly New Witness that it was a largely Jewish conspiracy that had corrupted the government, and he was ultimately convicted of criminal libel for his attacks on the previous financial transactions of Godfrey Issacs. Although Gilbert himself was not much involved in the antisemitic campaign against the Marconi scandal, it is convincingly argued by many Chestertonians that his attitudes towards Jews were not only hardened by it but also held more firmly than would otherwise have been the case out of loyalty to his brother, whom he regarded as a martyr due to the libel conviction and his subsequent death in 1918.[11]

Many also believe that Chesterton's attitudes towards Jews were strongly influenced by the pronounced antisemitism of his friend, the author Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953), who had been involved with Cecil in the Marconi affair. His most recent biographer even implausibly argues that these two and other antisemites in the New Witness circle literally dragged a naive, vulnerable and sometimes very unwilling Chesterton towards anti-Jewish prejudice. Still others trace his anti-Jewish attitudes to his schoolboy days, or else they point out how common antisemitism was amongst his contemporaries, mentioning as examples a number of his fellow writers and artists.[12]

In this latter context, a few of Chesterton's partisans argue that since antisemitism was so prevalent in his era, his attacks on Jews could not have been as intolerable to his readers as to those of us today who live in the post-Holocaust era.[13] Yet this claim surely ignores his Jewish contemporaries, some of whom did publicly express their strong resentment of his anti-Jewish remarks. The best evidence of this was the response to Chesterton of the Jewish Chronicle and Jewish World, starting in 1911 with their initial unfavorable reaction to both the interview with him and his lecture, as well as to some correspondence in the Jewish Chronicle in which he denied the charge of antisemitism made against him by a London rabbi, Rev. Morris Joseph, who based his contention on several letters about the corrupting influence of Jewish financiers and politicians that Chesterton had written to the Liberal weekly, the Nation. Both papers found Chesterton's views 'distinctly discomforting,' as Greenberg remarked of the interview with the Chronicle. They rejected his argument that since Jews were scattered throughout the world, without a nation of their own, they had not acquired a nationalistic spirit and hence could not be patriotic members of the countries where they lived. In reply, they explained that ethnicity and nationality were not synonymous terms, as he seemed to think: one could be ethnically Jewish, but English by nationality, for it was a political term that defined the citizenship of all those born in England or naturalized there. As British citizens, Jews could therefore be as patriotic as anyone else, as their previous demonstrations of loyalty had already proven. Chesterton's Jewish critics in the press likewise repudiated his claim that there was a particular Jewish type represented by a group of powerful, influential and corrupt Jews who engaged in a secretive, international finance. They countered that of course there were Jews in international finance, but they were not all necessarily corrupt, and those who were, represented only a small minority of Jews, whose misdeeds were traceable to human nature, not to their Jewishness, whether defined by race, religion or historical and cultural tradition.[14]

As for his repeated denials of antisemitism in the interview, lecture and letters to the editor, neither Greenberg's Chronicle nor the Jewish World (not yet edited by Greenberg) were totally convinced by them, although they indicated some willingness to give him the benefit of the doubt. The Jewish Chronicle ageed with Rev. Joseph that the 'sweeping style' against Jews in Chesterton's original letter to the Nation 'led very naturally to the assumption that he had adopted the currency of the anti-Semitic agitators.' Yet it thought that Joseph should not have pressed the issue once Chesterton had subsequently explained in his letter to the Nation that he had not been referring to all Jews. However, when in his lecture to the literary society he reiterated his position with similar qualifications, the Jewish World nonetheless concluded that it 'seemed to stamp him as a pronounced antisemite.'[15]

While this initial encounter with Chesterton left the impression on both papers that he was antisemitic, neither thought it an important enough issue to pursue any further, for they did not mention him again for three and a half years. Consequently there is no way of directly determining whether the subsequent Marconi affair of 1912 had any impact on their attitude to him. Of course Greenberg was well aware of the antisemitic response to the affair by the New Witness, yet he did not single it out for special condemnation, and ignored it for nearly a year after Cecil's conviction, even though it had acquired a reputation amongst Jews for rabid antisemitism. For example, when Cecil was invited to speak in November 1913 to the Young Hebrew Association, a blistering letter to the editor of the Jewish World denounced this invitation of 'an open, avowed and unblushing anti-Semite,' whose 'calculated lies' against the Jews appeared to be the raison d'être of his weekly. The invitation was withdrawn.[16] But Greenberg's papers still said nothing about the New Witness.

Greenberg's campaign against the Chestertons began only with the commencement of World War I, during which a renewed wave of antisemitism, provoked especially by doubts about the loyalty of Jews to Britain's war effort, caused Anglo-Jewry to consider it necessary to counter rather than ignore antisemitic charges. Consequently, Greenberg's papers closely monitored the New Witness, which they attacked with increasing harshness primarily because of its repeated assertions that Jews could not and did not patriotically support the war. It was in this connection that Gilbert was noticed by Greenberg once again, for a June 1915 article in the New Witness. Referring to some Jews in London's East End who had been attacked by a mob that had mistaken them for Germans, Chesterton remarked, 'Having asked to be trusted as Englishmen, they [the Jews] have come to be distrusted as Germans; when, in fact, they are neither one nor the other.'[17] Of course he had expressed such sentiments previously, but doing so again in the context of the war was much more inflammatory , for it implied that since Jews were not English, they necessarily could not patriotically support the war effort. This touched a raw nerve. In a headline bannered across the top of its front page, the Jewish World announced 'Mr. G. K. Chesterton's 'Grievance" to its readers. It pointed out that Anglo-Jewish soldiers at the front were proving their loyalty by shedding their blood for Britain, having been energetically urged to volunteer for service by the Jewish community. And it charged that underlying Chesterton's comments was an objection to the Jew 'being a Jew and all it connotes.' While it perceived that he would resent the charge of antisemitism, it nevertheless found 'little to choose between his sentiments regarding Jews and those who openly profess the cult.'[18]

Five months later in a November 1915 review of his novel Manalive (1912),[19] the Jewish Chronicle provided its own corroboration of his antisemitism. The reviewer deplored the novel as a tragic example of how an author with 'wonderful gifts' had prostituted his talents to 'his antisemitic bias.' As proof, the reviewer pointed to the novel's villain, Moses Gould, who was meant to personify Jewry as a type--the embodiment of selfishness and pushfulness, holding nothing sacred except money. Why, the reviewer asked, does Chesterton portray Jews as villains, rather than as rabbis, doctors and philanthropists, or even just as average, worthy citizens? The same question was later raised by Greenberg himself when Chesterton publicly reiterated his belief in a 'Jewish tendency or tradition' for the sort of finance that initiated 'international intrigues of the Marconi type.' Greenberg retorted that this 'pet prejudice' of Chesterton could easily be discredited by reference to the Jewish Encyclopedia, which in its first sixty pages listed fifty-three rabbis as well as fifty-one authors, educators, lay scholars and philosophers, but only five merchants or financiers.[20]

But during the war Chesterton's belief in a Jewish financial type was not nearly so irritating to the Jewish press as his claim that Anglo-Jewry could not patriotically support the war. Thus the reviewer of Manalive, despite believing that 'one of the wickedest things that Mr. Chesterton has ever written' was a description of Moses Gould's materialism, nevertheless thought this was far surpassed by the 'worst sentence' in the book, which impugned Gould's patriotism. How could Chesterton do this, the reviewer asked, when he surely knew of the 'magnificent response' of British Jews to the war effort? For sheer insensitivity, the reviewer continued, the only man in England who could compare with Chesterton was the Leeds cafe proprietor who had refused to serve a soldier awarded with the Victoria Cross, only because he was a Jew. In truth, such applications of the World War to Manalive were invalid, for it was a prewar novel, whereas the more historically applicable comment of the reviewer was his reference to the Anglo-Jewish soldiers who had fought in the Boer War (1899-1902), knowledge of which he thought should also have kept Chesterton from slighting Jewish patriotism. Yet the indignant remarks derived from the inaccurate application of the World War to the novel do indicate how infuriating Chesterton's remarks about Anglo-Jewish patriotism were during that war.

Thus even before Chesterton assumed the editorship of the New Witness in October 1916, Greenberg's papers concluded that he was definitely antisemitic and were no longer willing to give him the benefit of the doubt when he protested otherwise. After he replaced his brother as editor, they held him responsible for all its contents, which they rightly believed were as antisemitic as ever. Consequently, their attack on him escalated. By 1918, they were denouncing the New Witness circle as the 'antisemitic gang led by Mr. G. K. Chesterton.'[21] Again, nothing was more irritating to them than the charge by the New Witness that Anglo-Jewry was unpatriotic, such as its assertion that during a German air raid on London, the conduct of Jews 'of all classes' was deplorable because hundreds of them, provoked by a false air raid alarm, had rushed through the streets, carelessly trampling others underfoot until they reached the underground tube stations, where they remained in a panicky state for the rest of the afternoon. By contrast, it claimed, non-Jewish Londoners exhibited a 'steady endurance' throughout the raid. The Jewish World strongly objected that the reference to 'Jews of all classes' was meant to indict the whole Jewish community for an unproven cowardly response that supposedly distinguished them from the allegedly more patriotic Gentiles. It therefore pressed Chesterton to prove the story's accuracy.

In fact, the unsigned report had not been written by Chesterton himself but by his assistant editor, Cecil Chesterton's wife Ada, whose accuracy he nevertheless stubbornly upheld by reiterating her own evidence, although admitting that she had only seen the Jews in the tube station, having heard just by hearsay that they had hysterically stampeded there. By implication, he also defended her distinction between the Jewish and non-Jewish responses to the raid by explaining that Jews were 'an unhappy and abnormally nomadic crowd left naked to all these horrors, without the local attachments...which for rooted peoples [non-Jews] render a little saner the apparent insanities of war.' The Jewish World understandably retorted that his publication of the article followed by such an insensitive response was 'at best careless and at worst despicable beyond words.'[22]

Ada Chesterton had earlier contributed a similar story that was unquestionably the most scurrilous about Jews to appear in the New Witness during the first year of Gilbert Chesterton's editorship. In it she charged that during an air raid, Jews had run like 'mad dogs' down the stairs into a tube station, where amongst them 'a portly Jew' was seen wearing a 'massive chain of gold' while 'clinging with fingernails to the walls, his whole fat body trembling.' She therefore sarcastically suggested that all the Jews of the cities should be sent to a bomb-proof ghetto somewhere in the Midlands of England, where 'they can exhibit the cowardice of their race in decent privacy.' Chesterton himself seemed somewhat abashed by her article, for he remarked that her description of the portly Jew verged on ferocity; yet he defended her as his 'able colleague' (was this another instance of misplaced loyalty to his brother?), and did not repudiate her virulent antisemitic remarks.[23]

In fact, he later repeated her main point when he argued that Jews, or many of them, 'have tried to preach and spread their own cowardice as a virtue.' As an example, he cited the recent protests amongst Russian Jews in London's East End against a government order that required those who were not British citizens either to return to Russia for military service, or else be subject to service in the British army.[24] As Colin Holmes points out, this protest of Russian Jews, along with their prior reluctance to serve in the army, stirred up the most serious British antisemitism during the war.[25] In truth, Anglo-Jewish political leaders fully supported the government order and opposed the protests, hence the resentment of the Jewish World at Chesterton's use of the affair for an 'indictment against the whole race.'[26]

Equally disturbing to the Jewish World was his assertion in the same article that Jewry was promoting pacifism. This was a frequent charge of the New Witness that offended Greenberg's papers, as well as their subscribers. For example, an earlier report in the Jewish Chronicle that the New Witness had denounced the 'tomfool pacifism' of the

Jews prompted a writer of a letter to the editor to reply that upon reading the comment his heart burst 'with an indignation that I need not doubt is shared by thousands of my fellow Jews.'[27] In response to Chesterton's own claim, the Jewish World acknowledged that some Jews were pacifists, but pointed out that so were some Christians. It therefore contended that Chesterton's charge of pacifism was as unjustifiably sweeping as his reference to the Russian Jewish protests against military service. Hence it indignantly asked how long he 'is to be allowed to roam unrestrained wreaking unending mischief by his mad venomous hatred of our people.'[28]

This implied that legal action should be taken to deter him, and in fact some in the Jewish community, including Greenberg's papers, had already suggested that on the basis of libeling Anglo-Jewry and stirring up strife between different sections of the British community, he could be tried for an offence against the national interest under the wartime Defence of the Realm Act (DORA).[29] In truth the law allowed prosecution only for libel against individuals, not a community; yet the antisemitic attacks of the New Witness and other periodicals were considered so inflammatory by the Board of Deputies, the legal representative of Anglo-Jewry, that it pressed the government to amend DORA to permit prosecution for libel against the community.[30] Though this was not done, the demand for legal action against Chesterton was renewed the following autumn when the New Witness charged that the Jewish President of the Board of Works, Sir Alfred Mond was illegally trading with the enemy, and that this reflected a much wider 'subterranean labyrinth of Jewish communications between Germany and England.'[31]

Even after the war, the New Witness continued to accuse Jews of unpatriotic conduct during its course, causing still more protests from Greenberg, especially when his own papers were charged with publishing rolls of honor of German Jews who had died fighting for the German enemy. Such rolls when listing British casualties had been meant to honor soldiers for having died for the supremely worthy cause of defending Britain. In the Jewish Chronicle, lists of Anglo-Jewish casualties in the British army were thought at the time to demonstrate Jewry's loyalty to England, fulfilling the inspirational wartime slogan coined by Greenberg--'England has been all she could be to Jews; Jews will be all they can be to England.' Thus for the New Witness to suggest that Greenberg had similarly honored Jews in the German army was highly incendiary, and even more so because it mean-spiritedly declared that of course Greenberg had every right to do this since Anglo-Jews were not English anyway, but members of an international community. Week after week the Jewish World pressed Chesterton himself to prove this 'infamous charge.' Finally, the New Witness published its evidence: seven news reports from the Jewish World which mentioned the deaths of German Jewish soldiers, sometimes listing the names of the prominent ones, while remarking that they had 'bravely done their duty for their country.' Though admitting that these were not formal rolls of honor, the New Witness insisted they were their moral equivalent. The Jewish World emphatically denied this, explaining that it mentioned German Jews only because of their prominent contributions to Jewry, not out of sympathy for the German cause for which they died. Yet to the New Witness such references only confirmed its original contention that Jewry was international, hence not British. It therefore claimed that its charge against the Jewish World had been 'very harmless,' based as it was on the recognition that since Jews necessarily could not be patriotic, it was only natural for them to be proud of those elsewhere in their international community, even if they were enemy soldiers. This is what Chesterton himself had meant when at the outset of the dispute he had cryptically observed that if the Jewish World had in truth printed the rolls, it was no disgrace. Such remarks must have seemed to Greenberg deliberately calculated to infuriate him all the more. On the other hand Chesterton, apparently unaware of how harsh his comments really were, thought that Greenberg's papers were overly sensitive.[32] In truth, as has recently been pointed out, he did not really want to understand the patriotic contribution of Jewish soldiers to the British war effort.[33]

After the honor roll dispute, the five year-long controversy between Chesterton and Greenberg over Jewish patriotism finally came to an end. As the war receded as an issue, Greenberg's papers noticed Chesterton and his New Witness much less frequently, and then usually just in passing references. Once in a letter to the editor of the Jewish Chronicle a Labor Party candidate for political office squashed a rumor that he was participating in a 'Chestertonian anti-Semitic Campaign' by declaring that he would never tolerate such an 'excitation of racial and religious prejudice.' And when in 1925 someone proposed the establishment of a Jewish committee of inquiry into the causes and remedies of British antisemitism, the Jewish Chronicle ridiculed it as an unprofitable undertaking by facetiously postulating that the committee could call before it various antisemites like Chesterton, asking each in turn, 'Why don't you like us?' The proposer of the inquiry, when subsequently asked what type of evidence should be gathered by the committee, suggested a bibliography of antisemitism, mentioning only 'the writings of men like Chesterton' as an example of what might be included.[34]

Obviously Chesterton was still considered a leading antisemite amongst some Jews, even though he was now only rarely noticed by their press in this connection. Perhaps the Jewish Chronicle considered him much less dangerous in the context of the more extreme antisemitism that was rising during the 1920s and 1930s. But it does seem significant that its last article about him for a decade appeared in March 1923, only two months before the collapse of the New Witness. The Chronicle took no notice whatsoever of G.K.'s Weekly, another weekly which Chesterton founded in 1925 and then edited until his death in 1936. Perhaps no one at its offices read it, whereas they had obviously perused its predecessor for a decade. But possibly the Chronicle's silence lends credence to the belief of some Chestertonians that G.K.s Weekly was less anti-Jewish than the New Witness, reflecting what they detect as a more tolerant attitude in Chesterton towards Jews during his later years.[35] But if this was indeed true, no one noticed it at the Chronicle. When in September 1933 it once again (and for the last time) published as article about him--an interview in which he denounced Hitler's persecution of the Jews--it prefaced it with the explanation that Hitler's policies 'have horrified even the most confirmed anti-Semites in Great Britain and brought about a violent revulsion of feeling in bosoms hitherto regarded as irrevocably hardened against the Hebrew. Even Mr. G. K. Chesterton has relented.' Only then did the article, titled 'Hitler Branded a Barbarian,' go on to quote Chesterton as being 'appalled by the Hitlerite atrocities.'[36]

This essay has focused on Chesterton, but it should be noted that during his career others from the literary and journalistic community were likewise indicted for antisemitism by Greenberg's papers. The novelist and playwright Arnold Bennet (1867-1931) and the author John Buchan (1875-1920) were occasionally mentioned, while Belloc was much more frequently noticed, but still not so often as Chesterton. Undoubtedly this was because he edited the New Witness, making him a continously visible target. Although Greenberg's papers had condemned him for antisemitism even before he became editor, their indictment of him thereafter grew increasingly severe, provoked not only by his own commentary, but by that of others in the New Witness, whose contributions were more numerous and vituperative than his own, but not repudiated by him. Yet Greenberg thought him no less antisemitic than these others because he shared with them the same basic contention--that Jewry had an international spirit which was manifested in lack of patriotism or engagement in international financial and political intrigue. Chesterton never forsook this belief: even when decrying Hitler's antisemitic policies to the Jewish Chronicle, he still could not resist qualifying it by insisting that "the Jewish Spirit' is a spirit foreign to Western countries.'[37]

Greenberg's papers likewise censured other periodicals for antisemitism, including the conservative weekly Spectator, Blackwoods, a literary quarterly, and especially the very conservative Morning Post, which in 1920 published articles propagating the idea of a secret, revolutionary Jewish conspiracy that was The Cause of World Unrest, as the book form of the series was titled.[38] It was the only journal which received as many notices by

Greenberg's weeklies, perhaps even more, than the New Witness. That Greenberg's papers devoted roughly equal attention to the New Witness, with a circulation under a thousand, and a newspaper with a subscription over sixty times larger is explained by his conviction that when dealing with antisemitism, 'it is abundantly necessary to be on our guard. A spark unheeded can develop into a furious conflagration.' Even more strongly, his Jewish World warned that the New Witness was like a stench from a small cesspool that if not stopped up could spread fever and pestilence.[39] Consequently, it could not be ignored, nor could its editor.

Greenberg therefore single-mindedly exposed and denounced them both. Unlike Chesterton's current partisans, he ignored Chesterton's Zionism and was unimpressed by his kind remarks about Jewry, probably because he suspected that they derived from either self-deception or a desire to make his antisemitism more palatable to British society, which disliked publicly vocal antisemitism even when sharing its sentiments.[40] Yet he did know of Chesterton's good qualities, and once asked with some puzzlement how 'this brilliant essayist, this genial publicist, this original thinker' could nevertheless be antisemitic. Perhaps, he speculated, it was an obsession, immune to argument and susceptible only to treatment.[41] The degree of pain Chesterton caused amongst Anglo-Jews was thus far greater than has hitherto been recognized by students of Chesterton. No doubt his most ardent partisans will continue to deny his antisemitism, but the evidence presented in this essay does disprove the contention of some of them that there was no hue and cry against him by contemporary Jews. If Chestertonians are truly interested in evaluating his attitude to the Jews in the context of his times, they need to recognize the outcry against him from Greenberg's influential papers, rather than just relying on a handful of random comments from a few individual Jews who praised or condemned him.

Notes

[1] Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British society, 1876-1939 [London 1979], 217.

[2] Michael Ffinch, G. K. Chesterton [London 1986], 153-54, 273; Michael Coren, Gilbert: the man who was G. K. Chesterton [London 1989], 159,198,202.

[3] For the tribute, see Maisie Ward, Gilbert Keith Chesterton [London 1944], 228.

[4] Ffinch, G. K. Chesterton, 272-273; review of Ffinch by Aidan Mackey, reprinted in Chesterton Review, August 1986, 385; review of Ffinch by John Coates, Chesterton Review, November 1986, 517.

[5] Quentin Lauer, G. K. Chesterton: philosopher without portfolio [New York 1988], 142.

[6] [Cecil Roth], The Jewish Chronicle, 1841-1941: a century of newspaper history [London 1941], 124-155, 160. Greenberg became editor in 1907 of the Chronicle, which purchased the World in 1913. From 1910 to 1913, the World was edited by David Spiro. In 1915, there were eleven Jewish newspapers and magazines published in London, six of them in English, with the Chronicle and the World as the only weeklies. See The Jewish Yearbook [1915], 245. In 1939 the circulation of the Jewish Chronicle was about 20,000, representing perhaps 80,000 readers, or about twenty-two percent of all British Jews. None of the other English language Jewish papers published during Chesterton's lifetime were as long-lived or as influential as Greenberg's. For a brief overview of the others, see [Roth], Jewish Chronicle, 161-62.

[7] For the reprint of the interview, see Sister Mary Loyola, 'Chesterton and the mystery of Israel,' Chesterton Review, May 1987, 152-159. For an analysis of the interview, see Leo A. Hetzler, 'Chesterton's political views, 1892-1914,' Chesterton Review, Fall-Winter, 1979-80, 132, 135-136. For the lecture, see the unidentified excerpt from the Jewish Chronicle in Ward, Chesterton, 227-228.

[8] Altogether, for the years 1911-1933 there were fifty-three pieces about Chesterton plus thirty-four about the New Witness, twenty-five of them during his editorship.

[9] For examples, see Peter Hunt, 'A response to Owen Edwards,' Chesterton Review, Fall-Winter, 1979-80, 87-88; Brocard Sewell, Cecil Chesterton [Whitefriars, Faversham, Kent 1975], 73; Gregory Macdonald, 'A Response to Owen Edwards,' Chesterton Review, Fall-Winter 1979-80, 92-93; G. C. Heseltine, 'G. K. Chesterton--journalist' in John Sullivan (ed.), G. K. Chesterton: a centenary appraisal [London 1974] 133; Coren, Gilbert, 198, 201, 210. The Protocols, originally published in Russia in 1903, were issued in an English translation in 1920.

[10] Margaret Canovan, G. K. Chesterton: radical populist [New York 1977], 136-139; Jay P. Corrin, G. K. Chesterton & Hilaire Belloc: the battle against modernity [Athens, Ohio 1981], 61, 66; David Lodge, Novelist at the crossroads [Ithaca, New York 1971], 148.

[11] See for example Owen Dudley Edwards, 'Chesterton and tribalism,' Chesterton Review, Fall-Winter, 1979-80, 39, 42, 53-54. For the Marconi Scandal, see especially Frances Donaldson, The Marconi Scandal [New York 1962].

[12] Coren, Gilbert, 201, 205, 209, 211; Brocard Sewell, review of Margaret Canovan, G. K. Chesterton: radical populist, in Chesterton Review, Spring-Summer, 1978, 262.

[13] Lauer, Chesterton, 142-143.

[14] For the criticism of Chesterton, see Jewish Chronicle [hereafter JC], 5 May 1911, 7, 23 June 1911, 14, 22 December 1911, 36; Jewish World [hereafter JW], 1 December 1911, 4.

[15] JC, 23 June 1911, 6; JW, 1 December 1911, 4. The letters to the Nation are reprinted in Loyola, 'Chesterton and the mystery of Israel,' 146-152.

[16] JW, letter to the editor, 5 November 1913, 20. Cecil denied he was anti-Semitic. For an analysis of the antisemitism of the New Witness, see Holmes, Anti-Semitism, 72-80,102-103, 123-24,138-39.

[17] Chesterton, 'A real Jewish grievance,' New Witness [hereafter NW], 10 June 1915, 132. He opposed the mob action itself.

[18] JW, 16 June 1915, 1, 10, 13.

[19] JC, 5 November 1915, 29.

[20] JC, 9 June 1916, 7.

[21] JW, 30 October 1918, 17.

[22] JW, 29 May 1918, 6, 12 June 1918, 6-7, 26 June 1918, 6. For Chesterton's comments see his letter to the World, 12 June 1918, 7.

[23] J. K. Prothero [Ada Chesterton], 'The necessity for a bomb-proof ghetto,' NW, 4 October 1917, 543; G. K. Chesterton, 'The Jew and the journalist,' NW, 11 October 1917, 562.

[24] Chesterton, 'The grand turk of tooting,' NW, 25 October 1917, 611.

[25] Holmes, Anti-Semitism, 126-128, 134-136.

[26] JW, 7 November 1917, 8.

[27] Rev. Vivian G. Simmons, letter to the editor, JC, 9 November 1917, 14.

[28] JW, 7 November 1917, 8-9.

[29] JW, 24 October 1917, 9.

[30] Bayme Steven Gilbert, 'Jewish leadership and anti-semitism in Britain, 1898-1918' [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977], 26, 257-258.

[31] JW, 2 October 1918, 6-7, 9 October 1918, 7.

[32] JW, 23 June 1920, 4, 28 July 1920, 3, 25 August 1920, 2, 1 September 1920, 2, 8 September 1920, 8, 22 September 1920, 2. For the New Witness comments see NW, 27 August 1920, 324, 3 September 1920, 350-351, 17 September 1920, 376-377.

[33] Coren, Gilbert, 203.

[34] C. H. Norman, letter to the editor, JC, 17 February 1922, 23; JC, 24 July 1925, 6, 23 October 1925, 20.

[35] Ian Boyd, The Novels of G.K. Chesterton, [London 1975],197; Macdonald, 'Response to Owen Edwards,' 93, 95.

[36] JC, 22 September 1933, 14.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Holmes, Anti-Semitism, 147-149. See also Keith M. Wilson, 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and the Morning Post,1919-1920,' Patterns of Prejudice, 19:3 (July 1985), 5-14; Sharman Kadish, ' "Boche, Bolshie and the Jewish Bogey:" the Russian revolution and press antisemitism in Britain, 1917-1921,' Patterns of Prejudice 22:4 (Winter 1988), 24-39.

[39] JC, 2 May 1913, 9; JW, 7 January 1914, 6.

[40] Neither of his papers reviewed Chesterton's The New Jerusalem [1920], wherein he presented his case for Zionism. However the historian Philip Guedalla and later president of the English Zionist Federation unfavorably reviewed it for The Zionist Rewiew, March 1921, 199-200. It is reprinted as an unattributed general essay about Chesterton in Guedella's Masters and Men [New York 1923], 125-128.

[41] JC, 9 June 1916, 7.

Trial by Newspaper In Nineteenth-Century England

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Abstract

Historians have assumed that because few British newspapers offended the courts sufficiently to provoke citations for contempt in the nineteenth century the press did not attempt to influence the course of justice. In fact there are numerous examples of trial by newspaper in the British press. Newspapers did not hesitate to convict before trial. Sometimes, as in the case of George and Maria Manning, they convicted even before the arrests were made -- possibly so that the arrests *would* be made. They published damning evidence given at preliminary inquiries. They reported in detail on the inquests of murder victims, and when a verdict of wilful murder against a particular person was returned, they said so. Occasionally, as in the case of servant abuse by Robert and Sarah Bird, the newspapers prodded the court to convict while the court was still deciding. When they were not satisfied that enough was being done to blacken the character of an accused whom they considered a villain, they collected evidence on their own and published it. There was a running commentary in the newspapers, for example, as to whether John Tawell, a respectable businessman accused of murder, had been expelled from the Society of Friends after being convicted of fraud or had in fact never been admitted despite the fact that he wore Quaker dress. Details of his earlier conviction were published even in *The Times*, though such publication is contemptuous.

This was at a time when pressure for liberalism was at a height. John Stuart Mill felt that openness about what went on in magistrates' courts was a means of ensuring that justice was done. The newspapers clearly felt that the judiciary needed to be watched. And as policing was in its infancy, there is perhaps something to be said for their attitude that without the newspapers' prodding police investigations might not be thorough and without their help vital evidence might never emerge.

This paper explores in detail newspaper coverage of several sensational crimes that provoked what might be deemed -- but was not -- contempt by publication.

Trial by Newspaper
In Nineteenth-Century England

Contempt of court by publication in nineteenth-century England is not often heard of. It is generally assumed that trial by newspaper was nipped in the bud in 1747, when Mrs. Read, the publisher of the St. James's Evening Post, was sent to prison for allowing her paper to malign witnesses in a case that was to come to trial.

> Nothing is more incumbent upon courts of justice, than to preserve their proceedings from being misrepresented; nor is there anything of more pernicious consequence, than to prejudice the minds of the public against persons concerned as parties in causes, before the cause is finally heard,

said Lord Chancellor Hardwicke in delivering the judgment.[1] He then demonstrated the power of the court to imprison someone without the verdict of a jury or the privilege of appeal for an offence that had never been defined by statutory enactment.[2]

It has for many centuries in England been a criminal contempt to interfere with the administration of justice in a court case. But to be in contempt a paper must offend the judge involved in the particular trial. As judges are human, it has never been easy to identify ahead of time actions that would provoke citation for contempt, though it is clear what *might* provoke it. The effect has been, in modern times, censorship of the press by intimidation. Overstepping certain bounds is risky, but not necessarily disastrous, since the offence is to some extent subjective. The bounds are not clearly marked out, and interpretation of the action as offensive is left to one person.

In 1900, a respected English law journal commented:

> The Star Chamber and licenser of printing have disappeared, but there still remains over the press of this country one disciplinary jurisdiction almost as stern and far-reaching in its peculiar domain as that of the Star Chamber. It is that of the judges to punish those who print or publish matter declared to be in contempt of the Court.[3]

English law on contempt has grown clearer with the collection of precedents, but until the end of the nineteenth century it was quite vague largely because it was not often invoked. A paper could be held in contempt only for commenting on a case that was being heard or was to be heard -- not on a case that had already been disposed of. But every libel upon a person about to be tried was not a contempt. A contempt is an offence against the court, a libel an offence against a person. There was, of course, the alternative remedy of a libel suit if an accused's reputation was damaged. In murder cases, though, nineteenth-century newspapers seem not to have worried about provoking libel suits. The penalty of execution was swift enough that seeking redress for a damaged reputation would have been a futile gesture.

"The law today in England is thoroughly crystallized," an American lawyer and journalist wrote in 1940,

> and almost every publication that in any manner, and even to any degree, tends to affect the determination of pending causes, whether before court or jury, whether before civil courts, or military or ecclesiastical tribunals, is pronounced a contempt. Trial by newspaper never got a chance to get under way in England.[4]

In fact, trial by newspaper had a firm foothold in the nineteenth century. There were few citations for contempt before 1888, when the Law of Libel Amendment Act was passed, probably because until then it was not clear that it was legal to cover preliminary investigations. In 1811, in R. v. Fisher, a libel suit, the judge, Lord Ellenborough, observed that it was illegal and criminal for a newspaper to publish reports of preliminary examinations. Still, for the most part magistrates were allowing reporters to be present at such proceedings, though they could and sometimes did exclude them. A reporter at a preliminary examination in 1823 (when John Thurtell and others were charged with the murder of William Weare) was warned by the magistrate not to prejudice the trial of one of the accused by reporting his confession. His paper, the Observer, went ahead with what it considered its duty.[5]

If the evidence had already been published that determined an inquest's verdict of guilty of wilful murder, how could an accused be assured of a fair hearing by a jury at a subsequent trial? Lord ELlenborough said: "If anything is more important than another in the administration of justice, it is that jurymen should come to the trial of those persons on whose guilt or innocence they are to decide with minds pure and unprejudiced."[6] But the tide of liberalism for all worked against the consideration of justice for the individual. The argument on the other side was that justice would not be seen to be done if preliminary proceedings were not public. J.S. Mill wrote of John Black, editor of the Morning Chronicle from 1817 to 1843, in the Dictionary of National Biography:

> . . . to say a word against the unpaid magistracy was a sort of blasphemy. Black was the writer who carried the warfare into these subjects, and by doing so he broke the spell. Very early in his editorship he fought a great battle for the freedom of reporting preliminary investigations in the police courts. He carried his point, and the victory was permanent.

The newspapers took advantage of this division of opinion by reporting in detail evidence at inquests and inquiries that promised to lead to sensational trials and by speculating even before these hearings on the guilt of those whom they considered obvious perpetrators. Hence it is not uncommon to find in reports of mid-century trials directions by the judge or a plea from the defence attorney for an impartial hearing by a jury that was assumed to have followed reports of evidence against the accused for months before the trial.

In 1845, for example, at the end of the trial of John Tawell for murder, the judge, according to The Times, asked the jury to

> dismiss entirely from their minds whatever they had heard out of doors concerning the prisoner or against him. In this country matters became public and were subjects of pre-judgment through the instrumentality of the press, long before they came regularly under judicial investigation.[7]

Tawell, a reputable businessman, had killed his former housekeeper/mistress to avoid bringing shame on his wife. While the inquest was going on and they were reporting the evidence, the papers were conducting their own unofficial investigation and trial. Though with no great effort this could have been construed as an effort to interfere with justice, there seems to have been no fear, even by The Times, of citation for contempt." "Additional particulars" in that paper were that Tawell had long ago been transported for forgery and cast out by the Quakers. Furthermore, he had been a chemist, and "of course aware of the peculiar properties of potassium."[9] His victim, Sarah Hart, "a very superior person for one in her station in society," had been nurse to Tawell's dying first wife and had expected to marry him. Instead, he moved up a notch in society by marrying a respectable widow, and at the time of the murder was well enough off to have kept six servants.[10]

By the time the official trial began the public knew that John Tawell was not the pillar of society that his appearance and demeanour suggested. He had a criminal record, he had been on the scene at the time Sarah Hart was murdered, and he had bought the poison that killed her. It was obvious that he had been trying to keep up a position in society at the risk of being exposed as the father of his former housekeeper's children, and that he had finally decided to eliminate the risk. The Weekly Times reported after the execution that on setting out for the trial one juror was warned by his wife not to come home if Tawell was not sentenced to hang. In the opinion of this paper, "the hatred and prejudice of the women against the unfortunate wretch was intense and inveterate."[11] That the hatred and prejudice had been fuelled by newspaper coverage was not mentioned.

In the 1840s, as the incidence of crime against the person in England was growing, crime reporting developed an enthusiastic following that eventually culminated in the establishment of publications specializing in police news. The police, though hardly sophisticated, were able to control crime to the degree that investigations often led to arrests and convictions. So the papers, as in the case of Tawell, could follow a murder in full detail from the discovery of the body through the arrest of a suspect, the inquest, the trial, and the execution.

A suspect could be, and often was, convicted in the eyes of the public long before the trial. This report, for example, ran in the Illustrated London News in 1849:

> On Friday week a discovery was made of the mutilated remains of a man in one of the houses in Miniver-place, near the New Leather-market, New Weston-street, Bermondsey. The house in question is at present unoccupied, but belongs to Mr. Coleman, a builder, residing at No. 1. About six months ago he let it to a man named Manning, a discharged railway servant, who was dismissed by the directors of the Great Western Railway Company some time ago, for being concerned with Nightingale and others in committing a series of robberies on that line. He resided with his wife in Miniver-place, and the murdered man was frequently seen

> at their house, and especially in the company of Mrs. Manning. The name of the deceased was Patrick O'Connor: he was a gauger in the Customs at the London Docks, where he had for some time received a salary of £300 a year. He was in possession of nearly £400 in foreign railway bonds and securities, which was well known to Manning and his wife, who were frequently in the habit of visiting him at his lodgings, 21, Greenwood-street, Mile-end-road.[17]

The diligent reader has to wade through four more paragraphs to discover the manner of murder. O'Connor had been shot, hit over the head with a hammer and then buried underneath the ground-level kitchen. Five more paragraphs tell us essentially that Mrs. Manning had been arrested in Edinburgh, but her husband was still at large. This may seem a dull story, but the News, like the dailies before it, virtually convicted the Mannings before even their preliminary trial. To begin with, they had bolted in different directions. Manning, the papers reasoned, must have been a criminal: he had once been fired for stealing. Mrs. Manning was clearly also guilty, since she had taken possession of O'Connor's money and securities. The newspapers -- even The Times -- said so, thus, as Manning's lawyer pointed out in his defence, depriving them of their right to a fair trial.

After the evidence was heard, the Attorney-General urged the jurors to dismiss from their minds anything they had heard or read about the case and the lawyer berated the press thus:

> How does it happen that while, as a people, we are boasting of the liberties we possess and the securities which those liberties afford us -- how does it happen, I ask, that a case of this kind is never tried, but even the counsel for the Crown and the learned judge on the bench himself feel called upon to caution you against impressions previously made -- to caution you against the efforts of those who set themselves up before the world as the defenders of our liberties, but who, in such cases, do all they can to prejudice your minds, to pervert your path, to dam up the streams of justice and prejudge the case by urging upon you the public topics and circumstances which ought never to weigh with you for a moment, but which, nevertheless, have an effect upon your minds, whether you will or no? . ... Who are they that render these precautions necessary? Who are the rebels against justice? Who are they that transgress the law? Who are the men who dare to dictate to a court and jury, and who seek to intimidate you into a particular verdict, because it squares with prejudices resulting from an imperfect knowledge of the whole history of the case? I had read with deep interest the frightful event, the French revolution -- an event that did more at once to ennoble and to debase, to

> dignify and degrade the human race, than any other event with which I am acquainted -- and I have found that what adds to the horrors of each stage of cruelty, as it presents itself to our view, is, that a depraved press prejudged every case before its investigation, making the trial a meaningless form and an empty pageant.[13]

The "depraved press" had a heyday with murder by the Mannings on Aug. 9, 1849 of Patrick O'Connor, an Irishman of some substance who was working in London as a customs officer. Not only did this case have glamour, sex, money, greed, lust and depravity, but it also touched the nobility in that before her marriage Maria Manning had been a maid to Lady Blantyre, a daughter of the Duchess of Sutherland. It was an eminently satisfactory story to report, in that a)the loss to society was not great, b)it was solved by good police work, and c)the hanging of such a spirited and defiant transgressor was a dramatic reminder of the wages of sin.

When Maria Manning discovered that O'Connor was devastated at the news of her marriage, she offered him a menage a trois. However, after the Mannings had acquired new quarters in Bermondsey, O'Connor changed his mind about moving in. Furious, this Victorian Lady Macbeth plotted to murder him to recover what was owed them. Her husband helped her dig a grave under the kitchen floor, and once she had O'Connor standing conveniently over it she shot him. When eventually the police came to ask questions, she calmly denied any knowledge of his whereabouts, but soon afterward she and her husband bolted in different directions. Days later, one of the policemen recalled that a flagstone in the floor had looked loose. He discovered O'Connor beneath it. By the time the police also found an ironmonger who remembered selling Maria Manning a shovel, a labourer who had delivered some lime for her husband, a landlady who remembered letting her into O'Connor's room on the night he had disappeared, a taxi driver who had carted her, with bag and baggage, to the railway station, etc., there was not much doubt as to who had killed O'Connor.

Still, it was highly unusual for the papers, including *The Times*, to solve the murder publicly even before the arrests were made. On Aug. 18, the *Globe*, under the heading "Frightful murder in Bermondsey," reported what the police had discovered and added:

> There can hardly be any doubt that Manning or his wife committed the murder, as they sold all their goods to a broker in Bermondsey-street on Tuesday last, and exhibited a great desire to leave the neighborhood. Mrs. Manning was also at the murdered man's lodgings the day he left, and the day after, when she unlocked his drawers; but no suspicion was attached to her, as she was in the habit of visiting there during his absence."[14]

Seven paragraphs into the story of O'Connor's murder readers of the highly respected Observer (a weekly, then as now) were told:

> That Manning and his wife were his murderers there is no present reason to doubt. They decamped immediately after police had made the first inquiries . .. ; they disposed of their furniture at a loss; they left no trace behind them as is usual in ordinary cases of removal, however rapidly made; and, above all, Mrs. Manning not only called at the lodgings of the murdered man . . . , but she actually opened his drawers and swept away all their valuable contents. That this frightful crime was meditated for some time is quite clear.

Readers were also told that O'Connor had been a usurer and a womanizer -- a man of sordid habits who was disliked by his colleagues. His connection with Maria Manning, "altogether of a criminal nature," had been countenanced by the husband for the purpose of obtaining O'Connor's money and property.[15]

The Times of Aug. 23 carefully reports that the shovel with which O'Connor's grave was dug "in all probability" was bought by Mrs. Manning and that "it seems" she fled intending to leave her husband to take the blame and the punishment.[16] On the first day of the trial the paper ran a leading article considering the comparative guilt of the couple and concluding that Manning was legally guilty of murder but his wife was not.[17] As the Post indignantly pointed out after the trial was over, there had been an interval of a few hours between the appearance of the paper and the assembly of the jurymen, during which they were probably eating breakfast and perusing the paper usually read by those of their station, The Times.'"

The dailies reported regularly on the piecemeal clues to the murder, then on the arrival in London (under police escort) of Maria Manning and her arrest, and finally on the arrival and arrest of her husband. Many of the reports were from the same correspondents or from the same source, the police. Between the first report on Aug. 18 and the end of September, The Times ran more than 30 stories, 17 more (some of these substantial, as reports of the trial were practically verbatim) in October and 25 in November before and after the execution. The dense, detailed testimony and examination were dramatic enough to have been as faithfully read as they were reported, for, since there was no denying that at least one of the Mannings was guilty, each lawyer set out to prove the other's client guilty.

On Aug.26, the Observer provided three pages of news about the case, with details of the murder, the lives of O'Connor and the Mannings, the flight of the murderers in different directions, efforts to find them, the police examination,and the inquest.

Under "miscellaneous facts" it blackened her character as well as convicting her:

> There seems to be little doubt that Maria Manning was as treacherous to her husband as she was to O'Connor, and that she decamped with the whole of the money and securities as soon as the suspicions of the police were awakened, leaving Manning to take his chance of being apprehended, under the hope that when he was captured, any further pursuit after her might be abandoned.[17]

Other papers, including The Times, the Manchester Guardian, the Daily News and the Express put forth this theory, which had been provided by the police.

The highly esteemed Standard did not report the murder until Aug. 19 (on page 2). Like the Globe, the Daily News and the Express, and in similar wording, it accused the Mannings. "Strong suspicion is attached to Manning and his wife, as they sold all their goods to a broker in Bermondsey-street on Tuesday last and exhibited a great desire to leave the neighborhood." Page 1 of the Aug. 20 Standard had a report of the inquest and a news story with a description of O'Connor and the Mannings. The story, suggesting that the Mannings had rented a house with the express purpose of murdering O'Connor, says "very little doubt exists that the murder of Mr. O'Connor was premeditated long before that time." On Aug.

23 it ran a story (on page 2) sent by telegraph on the examination of Maria Manning in Edinburgh and suggested that the police were not moving properly to get her extradited. There were four more stories in August on the police examination of Maria Manning and the inquest, which returned a verdict of wilful murder. On Aug. 29 there was a small item (on page 2) urging the police to pick up Manning; on Aug. 30 an entire column (on page 2) was devoted to his arrest in Jersey. On Aug. 31, in an enterprising story, the Standard reported that people had been applying to visit the prison. [20]Prison authorities told the Standard's reporter that Maria Manning had the strongest spirit they had ever seen. She turned pale on hearing that her husband had been captured, but regained her composure at once and "became as cool and calm as if she were really innocent." (She had not, at this point, been proved guilty.)[21]

On Sept. 1, three columns on page 3 and two and a half columns on page 4 of this paper were devoted to the story of Manning's arrival in London. Page 1 of the Sept. 3 edition contained a column of further particular's about "the assassin's conduct" (though his guilt had not been established). Page 1 of the Sept. 4 edition devoted about one-third of a column to Maria Manning's concern with dress, referring to her rather scathingly as "the woman Manning."

The police examination was reported between Sept. 6 and Oct. 6, with various items of evidence added as policed furnished them to the papers. On Oct. 25 the trial began. As all the papers noted, Mrs. Manning lost control after the verdict was given, shouting, "Base, shameful England!"

After the execution, breathing a sigh of relief that order had been restored, the Daily News and the Express (sister papers), observed hopefully:

> The only moral we can extract from the shocking tale is one addressed to the selfish fears of the guilty. The intelligence, energy and organisation of the police; their prompt and skilful use of the railroad, steam-boat, and electric telegraph; the sagacity with which they elicited and combined the conclusive train of circumstantial evidence: all tend to show at what hopeless odds crime has now to contend with justice. The knowledge of this will not make bad men good, but it will paralyse their arms when braced and raised for the perpetration of great offences.[22]

It is plain that these papers saw the press as an instrument of justice, an ally of the law. Without publicity, enforcement of the law would not have had the same deterrent effect.

The treatment of the Mannings in the press was mild compared with the cries for blood heard a year later when it seemed that two pairs of child abusers might escape justice. In March of 1850 Robert and Sarah Bird were acquitted of the murder of their servant girl, Mary Ann Parsons, on the ground that it could not be established which, if either, of them had struck the fatal blow. A few months later another story of servant abuse surfaced, this time in London. The case of the Sloanes aroused even more interest, in part because their victim lived to testify.

Theresa Sloane had deliberately chosen Jane Wilbred from the workhouse because the girl had no friends to keep track of her. As well as beating and overworking her, the Sloanes kept her on the edge of hunger and forced her to eat work topless in winter, so that she would feel the cold. These revelations were published as verbatim testimony by the girl at a pre-trial inquiry held in December 1850. ("It will be necessary, although extremely disgusting, to use the girl's own words," The Times apologized parenthetically.[23])

Her graphic evidence created a sensation. "The whole of the persons assembled in court here burst into a loud and long continued yell of indignation against the defendant," says one report of the girl's description of excrement being forced down her throat, "nor did the officers of the court make the least attempt to repress this expression of feeling, so much did every one, even to the alderman on the bench, appear to share the feeling of abhorrence which these disclosures produced."[24]

Public interest in the case was at a fever pitch. On the second day of the hearing, according to The Times,

> Though not the least intimation had appeared in the public prints as to when the examination of this unparalleled case would be resumed, still the court was literally crowded to suffocation; and it was with difficulty that the representatives of the public press, who mustered in great numbers, could obtain admission, so crowded were all the avenues leading to it by persons anxious to obtain a view of the accused parties and their unfortunate victim Jane Wilbred.[25]

The case was covered extensively for the two months between the preliminary investigation and the trial, and the public's mind was set against the Sloanes from the start. The Advertiser devoted two columns of its front page to an account of the first day of the preliminary inquiry under the heading "Charge of frightful cruelty against Mr. Sloane, of the Temple," reporting that the courtroom was crowded to excess with people who had come on the chance of seeing the girl.

George Sloane appeared at the inquiry, but his wife, on being notified by the authorities that they would like to see her, claimed she was too ill to appear and then fled to France. The Advertiser charged in a leader that it was because Mrs. Sloane was a "lady" that she had been allowed to avoid the investigation.

> Poor and vulgar people, who are obliged to depend upon manual labour for their livelihood, are never the subjects of much solicitude on the part of magistrates for their ultimate safety. . . .
>
> A summons, in such a case as that of a Mrs. Sloane's, is nothing less than an advertisement to her that she is in danger, with a notice by implication, that she has about twenty-four hours' time for removing herself from the reach of the officers of justice.[26]

Eventually, with an indignant and relentless press at their back, the police found and arrested her. The couple pleaded guilty to a series of assaults, presumably to avoid more publicity, and were sentenced to two years. The outpourings of indignation, rage and loathing in the newspapers far surpass in quantity and degree the opinions that appear in modern accounts of crime. Victorian newspapers were prepared to throw legal caution to the winds when morally outraged.

The *Weekly Times*, a month before the trial, devoted nearly a full page to various aspects of the case starting with a history of legal cases of abuse of servants. This was headed "The law, as it affects the Sloanian school of domestic tyrants." The last case to be described was that of the Birds, who had been retried the previous August, with judgment reserved, so that the case was still *sub judice*. Recounting the ordeal of Mary Ann Parsons, the paper says:

> To brutal treatment of the most horrid description was added stinting of food, etc.; her body, in fact, was one mass of bruises. And yet, on the direction of Mr. Justice Talfourd, the jury acquitted these monsters. Grave comments were made on this extraordinary case at the time, and general dissatisfaction was expressed at the decision; it is sincerely hoped, however, that it will never be acted on as a precedent.[27]

Even before the first trial of the Birds the newspapers had decided they were guilty.[28] After their acquittal there followed (quite legally) a debate in the nation's editorial column as to the solidity of the judge's position. The most vicious condemnation of the decision is to be found in the *Weekly Times*, which headed its commentary "Atrocious Wrong and Scandalous Impunity."

"We are forbidden to be silent," says the paper,

> not more by the atrocity of their crime than by the infernal sophistry which, emanating from the semblance of a representative of the majesty of justice, has let loose upon society two such fiends as this farmer of Buckland and his wife -- wretches who are consequently at this time desecrating God's creation by their living presence, laden with more than the guilt of Cain, but, thanks to Justice Talfourd, without Cain's brand.[29]

Pressure from the newspapers was probably responsible for the retrial of the Birds for assault in the summer of 1850. They were eventually convicted and sent to prison for 16 months. After the Sloanes were convicted, but before the judgment on the Birds was delivered, *The Times* commented: "We have not forgotten that the monsters who sent Mary Ann Parsons to an untimely grave are still in custody awaiting the decision of the Judges on their case".[30] "In comparing the cases of the Birds and the Sloanes the ugly reflection must suggest itself that murder has more chances of escaping justice than a minor offence," said the *Examiner*. before the court had determined that it *was* murder.[31]

This sort of blatant disregard for the rights of those accused of heinous crimes continued into the twentieth century. In 1865, for example, 21-year-old Constance Kent confessed to the murder of her step-brother and was subsequently tried and found guilty. The papers reported the confession in covering a magistrate's hearing at which it was read. ("During the reading of this confession the prisoner burst into tears,-- the first time she had exhibited any emotion," said The Times.[57]) In 1871 the press supplemented the police investigation of the murder of a young woman by Edmund Pook. In 1882 the deathbed deposition of an elderly woman was recorded not at the trial of the accused murderer but at the inquest of the victim. Realizing that she had been poisoned, the woman dictated her recollections to a magistrate, implicating Louisa Taylor. The newspapers reported this along with the widower's evidence that his wife had said that Taylor had browbeaten her into taking a suspicious powder.[58]

Today inquests do not determine guilt, magistrates usually exclude the press from preliminary inquiries, and judges, like the rest of society, are more cognizant of the rights of the accused. A string of contempt precedents keeps the press in line. To some extent, though, one can understand why newspapers of the last century felt justified in convicting ahead of the court and hounding the authorities for vengeance. It is unlikely that the Birds would have been retried on a lesser charge after being acquitted of murder, that Mrs. Sloane would have been retrieved to stand trial, or that the Sloanes would have been sent away for two years had the newspapers not fanned public opinion against what they quite reasonably considered tyranny and privilege. The law was a more imperfect instrument than it is now. So they tried, even if they had to go beyond its bounds, to manipulate it to serve society more justly than it would if it were not guided by public opinion.

The press was both a watchdog over the justice system and, in its power to dispense punitive publicity, its partner. As is evident from the servant abuse scandals, the papers saw themselves as instruments, or at least catalysts, of justice, sometimes to the extent of prodding the police to arrest and the bench to convict in a way that would not be tolerated today. They advocated changes in laws or judicial procedures when cases they were reporting revealed problem areas. This is not to deny that they had other motives as well. Certainly they sought to entertain and to sell papers as well as to inform. But their primary role was to represent the public in the courts.

1.Roach v. Garvan, English Reports 26, 683.

2.Arthur E. Hughes, "Contempt of Court and the Press," Law Quarterly Review 16 (July 1900), 293.

3.Hughes 292.

4.Sullivan 139.

5.Marjorie Jones, Justice and Journalism (London: Barry Rose,1974),19-20.

6.Rex vs. Fisher, 11 R.R. 799 (K.B. 1811)..

7.Times, 15 March, p. 5.

8.It is contemptuous to publish the results of a special crime investigation by a newspaper (Rex vs. Tibbits and Windhurst, 1902, 1 K.B. 77) or to detail the past life and criminal record of a defendant (Rex vs. Parke, 1903, 2 K.B. 432).

9. Times, 6 Jan. 1845, p. 7.

10. Herald, 9 Jan. 1845, p.5.

11. Weekly Times, 30 March 1845, p. 5.

12. Illustrated London News, 25 Aug. 1849, p. 135.

13. Observer supplement, 28 Oct. 1849, p. 3.

14. Globe, 18 Aug. 1849, p. 4.

15. Observer, 19 Aug., 1849, p. 5.

16. Times, 23 Aug. 1849, p. 5.

17. Times, 25 Oct. 1849, p. 4.

18. Post, 29 Oct., 1849, p. 4.

19. Observer, 26 Aug. 1849, p. 5.

20.

21. Standard, 31 Aug. 1849, p. 5.

22. News, 27 Oct. 1849, p. 4; Express, 27 Oct. 1849, p. 2.

23. Times, 9 Dec. 1850, p. 7.

24. Advertiser, 9 Dec. 1850, p. 1.

25. Times, 14 Dec. 1850, p. 3.

26. Advertiser, 3 Jan. 1851, p. 2.

27. Weekly Times, 5 Jan. 1851, p. 3.

28. See "Horrible Cruelty," Times, 2 Feb. 1850, p.8, continued in supplement, p.1, and "The Case of Mary Ann Parsons," Daily News, 5 Feb. 1850, p. 4.

29. Weekly Times, 31 March 1850, p.264.

30. Times, 6 Feb. 1851, p. 4.

31. Reprinted in The Times, 11 Feb. 1851, p. 8.

32. Times, 27 April 1865, p. 11.

33.Times, 27 Oct. 1882, p. 8.

The Halftone and Magazine Reproduction in the United States: From 1880-1900

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From the times of the earliest presses until the early 1880s printers had sought ways to reproduce artwork for illustrations in magazines. The wood-block printing in hand presses did not yield the quantity nor qualities desired. Inventors from several countries tried to solve the problem of graphic "screen" reproduction; however, it fell to a photographer at one of New York's newspapers to solve this mystery for the world.

Once solved, halftone photography for plate making became the vital tool of the printer in graphic reproduction. This new form of graphic reproduction dominated the magazine press within twenty years of its discovery. By 1900 the magazine press was totally committed to the halftone method for graphic reproduction of illustrative art and photography.

It was in the late 1870s that Stephen H. Horgan, a photographer for the New York Daily *Graphic*, became interested in the idea of using a "screen" to produce a printable photographic image, with half-tones.

On March 4, 1880, Horgan's "halftone" was shown on the front page of the *Graphic*. A brief explanation appeared on the editorial page. It said,

> On the lower left hand corner is an illustration entitled "A Scene in Shanty Town, New York." We have dealt heretofore with pictures made from drawings or engravings. Here we have one direct from nature. Our photographers made the plate from which this picture has been obtained in the immediate presence of the shanties which are shown in it. There has been no redrawing of the picture. The transfer print has been obtained direct from the original negative. As will be seen, certain of the effects are obtained by use of vertical lines. This process has not yet been fully developed. We are still experimenting with it and feel confident that our experiments will, in the long run result in success, and that the pictures will eventually be regularly printed in our pages direct from photographs whithout the intervention of drawing.(1)

As Horgan later stated, the *Graphic's* reproduction of the photograph "Shantytown" showed for the first time that "the principle [of halftone] was practical."(2)

The successful printing of "Shantytown" led to what has been referred to as "the birth of the present revolution and evolution of the printing industry and the business world itself."(3) This appearance in the *Graphic* was startling to the printing world, for it showed the possibility that photography could usurp the place of [traditional] wood engraving.(4)

As Horgan explained, he had used a

> sheet of perforated cardboard to make his printing negative out of focus so that the apertures in the screen would grade [in halftone values] from transparency to opacity. The simple discovery of causing the "screen" to be slightly out of focus solved the problem faced by previous inventors. This "out of focus" position of the screen permit[ed] dispersion and diffraction of light rays from the subject to be translated into a halftone.(5)

All of the previous attempts and patented processes fell short of achieving this goal.

Horgan would later write that the list of twenty patents assigned to Half-tone processes from 1852 until 1883 all failed to arrange

> the light so that it [would] disperse after passing through the screen and before it [reached] the negative. Borland's patent, No. 5896 of 1883, [was] the most important ... for it describes the use of the screen "a little distance away" from the sensative plate in the camera, the true principle of halftone making universally used.(6)

The wood engravers at the largest publications using illustrations, *Harper's* and *Leslie's*, soon realized that Horgan's photomechanical method of reproduction would put an end to their work.(7)

The woodcut artists were the backbone of reproduction in magazines until the advent of the new photo mechanical halftone screen process. As James Carrington pointed out in his article "American Illustration and the Reproductive Arts,"

> until the discovery of a method by which a drawing could be transferred to the wood-block by photography, all illustrations had to be drawn in reverse on the block itself and in the exact size of the finished engraving. Few artists were competent to do this or cared to try, and the result was that the wood-engravers in many cases copied the artist's drawings on the block, and engraved them with the originals before them. Fortunately, the wood-engravers were nearly always themselves skilful [sic] draftsmen.(8)

Fredrick Ives, an amateur inventor, took Horgan's invention and applied new techniques in an effort to make an improved screen. Ives stated later that he had, "commenced to turn a few [halftone] plates commercially in February, 1881 ... [and] soon realized the theoretical possibility of using a screen for negative making."(9) Ives later described the woodcut artists' reaction to his halftone process. He said, "In the early days of the halftone one wood engraver said that he wanted to murder me for virtually destroying the industry which he had chosen for his life occupation."(10) H. D. Farquhar writing on "Photoengraving" in *The Inland Printer* in May , 1891 said, the Ives halftone screen led to the development in 1884-85 of "Meisenbach produced plates in half-tone which showed superior effects to the former processes of line work."(11)

Newspapers, with their faster presses and the complications inherent in reproducing photography, were to lose this new photoengraving process to the magazine world. Magazines responded by embracing this new process at the same time they were killing the wood engraving industry.

Those in defense of the wood-engravers spoke of their quality. "First-class wood-engraving is ten times dearer than good half-tone," said W. Lewis Fraser in *Century* magazine.(12) It "still remains true, that this new process is largely what its name implies - a half-tone," Fraser wrote.

A further argument heard in favor of the engravers was that of the artistic content of their works. "Here we have something that mechanical engraving [photo engraving] can never give - the personality of the engraver, the touch of the artist. In looking at this picture [of a portrait that appeared in a recent *Century* magazine] one feels the dignity of the engraver's art," stated a letter to the *Critic*.(13) But doom was the by-word, and in a report in the *Critic* of a speech to the Quill Club in 1894, Frank Scott, president of the *Century* said,

> It was in connection with a magazine that the process of photographing on wood was here applied, making possible that marvellous development of wood-engraving which has made the American school the most famous in the world. ... Of late we have had a new development in the process of half tone plate. ... It has already taken the place of wood-engraving for the cheaper and simpler kinds of cuts. ... It may so hamper the art of engraving that it will die out and disappear. I hope I may never see that time, and that the present generation may not live to witness such a calamity and loss to the art world. (14)

This was echoed in the *Photographic Times* of May 1894 when it was stated, "The work of the wood-cutter, except the very finest, and also for special kinds of work, is apparently dying out forever." (15) It did just that.

As James B. Carrington, the historian, stated in 1922,

> It was the camera that gave the wood-engraver his greatest opportunity, and it was to the camera that he owed his downfall, so far as concerned the need for his services in reproducing illustrations. The camera aided by the half-tone screen placed between the

> drawing and the photographic plate substituted mechanical processes for the trained hand and brain of the engraver.(16)

The low-cost halftone of the time became the economic reason for the success of the low priced illustrated magazine, concluded historian Frank Luther Mott.(17)

Carrington, in his *Scribner's* article, states,

> We need only compare the cost of a wood-engraving with a half-tone to understand the reason for its immediate popularity. It was not uncommon to pay as much as a hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars for a full-page wood-engraving; the half-tone can be made for twelve or fifteen dollars, and, if need be, in a day, while the wood-engraving might take anywhere from one to two or even six weeks to engrave.(18)

Farquhar, in his article on "Photoengraving" in 1891, echoed this feeling. He stated,

> At present there are four times as many process cuts [half-tones] used as wood. The printer finds that they are as easily made on the press, produce equally good results and cost about one-half the price of a wood cut.(19)

General photography had also made vast technological strides during this time. Photographs were sought after as illustrations in magazines. Field reporters began to take their cameras with them to cover events, using the "instantaneous" qualities of the photograph to illustrate the scene, rather than depending on the artists sketch. More and more the public wanted realistic documentary coverage.

From the introduction of the gelatine-bromide dry plate(20) to the improved optics of 1884, to George Eastman's "roll film" of 1889 (21) photography made the progress needed to assist its entry into halftone reproduction in maqazines.

The printing press and photograph had been happily married.

In 1895 many book publishers and magazines still used "tipped in" photographs, in addition to halftones, for illustrations, however. The "tipped in" photograph was a photographic print glued to the pages of books. This practice of "tipping in" photographs assured a quality photographic reproduction that had not been available before the refinement of the halftone process. The vast volume of photographs printed for such use attested to the value of the photograph for illustration. The Automatic Photograph Co. of New York City produced 7 1/2 million cabinet sized (approximately 3 1/2" x 5") prints for use in publications, during 1895.(22) Then, in late 1895 the Post Office ruled that no longer would "tipped-in" photographs be allowed in journals and publications using 2nd Class mail.(23) This ruling affected many publications of the time, since the lower rates of the 2nd Class Mail were often vital to the profit of publications. Once again, the halftone gained in its importance to the industry.

Starting in 1897 halftone illustrations, reproduced from metal printing plates, began appearing regularly in American newspapers. (24) Stephen Horgan, the father of the halftone, said the newspaper was "gradually reaching a position to use the contribution of the camera." Demand for photography in newspapers was overwhelming. As Horgan said, "A picture tells the whole story at once, and in a better way sometimes than columns of type."(25) An article in *The Nation* in April 1893 entitled "Newspaper Pictures"commented, "No one who has observed New York journalism for the last few years could fail to perceive that pictures had to come sooner or later."(26)

Magazines, at this time, were continuing their love affair with the printed halftone. An editorial in the *Ladies Home Journal* in November 1898 spoke of the importance of good pictures. It stated,

> After the editorial part, the picture side of a magazine naturally always receives the most thought. The *Journal's* pictorial aim is to give readers not only good pictures ... but interesting pictures from the stand-point of composition. ... If people desire more pictures it is for the *Journal* to give them. ... Pictures are valuable only where they illustrate something or tell something; but printing pictures merely for the sake of giving pictures is something in which the

> *Journal* does believe. When the public seemed to demand more pictures this magazine gave more. But it added four extra pages in order to do it and keep an even balance between illustrations and reading matter. ... The Journal's rule about pictures: that it prints as many interesting pictures as it can get and it is wise to give; but they must be interesting. A picture must tell something; it must, if possible, tell a story apart from what it seeks to illustrate. (27)

What had occurred from the early 1880s into the mid-90s was the introduction and refinement of the halftone that could be reproduced inexpensively and with enough quality to impart good visual information to the masses.

An analysis of several prominent magazines of the time shows the impact of the halftone in magazine reproduction . *The Ladies Home Journal,* a popular magazine, in March 1895 used reproductions on fifteen of its thirty-three pages. Of those reproductions there were no wood-block engravings, fifteen zinc-plate engravings, and twenty-eight halftones. Eight of the halftones were from photographs. By March 1900 there were forty-one pages with illustrations out of a total of fifty. One wood-block engraving was used, along with thirty zinc-plate reproductions and one hundred seventy-one halftones. Ninety-two of those halftones were from photographs. The use of photography and the halftone in the popular magazine publication had obviously made great strides in the quantity of their reproductions. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, a more literary journal, showed less dramatic results. The March 1895 *Harper's* used twenty-seven zinc-plate engravings and forty-nine halftones, twelve from photographs. The March 1900 *Harper's* used thirty-two zinc-plate illustrations and forty-nine halftones, with no photographs used in reproduction.

An analysis of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (this publication was chosen for analysis because of its use of illustrated material;in later years it did become a magazine) of March 13, 1880 shows twenty wood-block engravings, and no other styles. The March 14, 1885 issue shows twenty-nine woodcuts and no other reproductive styles. The March 15, 1890 *Leslie's* shows thirty-five zinc-plate engravings and seven halftones from photographs. Finally, the March 17, 1900 issue of *Leslie's* shows four zinc-plate engravings and forty-eight halftones from forty-seven photographs and one piece of artwork.(28)

A further analysis of these publications show a conservative use of photographic "styles" which started to expand into a more liberal use of "styles" by the late 1890s.

Looking at *Leslie's* March 14, 1885 issue; the woodblock art depicts scenes of the inauguration of President Grover Cleveland. The two woodcuts, on pages 60 and 65, credit the use of photography as source material for the artwork. One is for a series of head shots of cabinet officials, the other, a head shot of the bride of the President, the former Miss Francis C. Folsom.

By the March 15, 1890 issue of *Leslie's*, photographic halftones had begun making its foothold in publishing known. The seven halftones, appearing in this issue, varied in content from a photograph of the Chicago World's Fair, attributed to an "instantanecus photo by M. B. Brady (the Civil War photographer), to several scenes of Mobile, Alabama.

The March 17, 1900 issue of *Leslie's* contains forty-seven photographic halftone reproductions. The photography reproduced illustrated scenes worldwide including the Boer War, famine in India, the "Battle of the Jungle" in the "far-off" Philippines, scenes from the New York theater district, the "Rush to the Gold Fields of Alaska" and results of the Amateur Prize Photographic Contest sponsored by the magazine.(29)

The halftone was successfully used to bring illustration of all types to magazine journalism. However, the newspaper industry had never given up on the hope of one day reproducing photography on its high-speed presses.

This did not mean that all was clear-sailing for photography and the halftone, however.

As late as 1899 there was negative comment on photography in the press. The *Outlook* quotes critic Richard Watson Gilder as saying, "I think there is to be a great reaction soon in public taste - that people will tire of photographic reproduction and those magazines will find most favor which lead in original art."(30) The idea of the inferiority of the photograph to other techniques of illustration was often heard.

Editors of newspapers and magazines soon came to realize that photography was the illustrative development of the future, however.

As Clement Shorter wrote, in an article entitled "The Newspaper, the Magazine and the Public" in the *Contemporary Review* in 1899,

> The photograph, however, must have an even larger place in the journalism of the future than of the past, and the editor will prove himself most skilful [sic] who most perfectly realises the limits of the artist and the limits of the photographer.(31)

The quest for reproduction of imagery was a search that extended over many centuries. The most vital and productive time for the overall effort was late in the 19th Century, however.

It was during this time period that civil strife, war, the emerging West and the industrial revolution occurred in the United States. The printing press and the new technology of photography in association with the halftone became the "eye witness" for a nation, and ultimately the world.

Halftone and Magazine Reproduction, p.14

In the last two decades of the 1800s the halftone became the symbol of the "new" literate press. Over the objections of a few dissenters, the printed image was recognized as a wonderful new tool of education, full of vision , compassion, and "instantaneous" realism.

Notes

(1) As shown in the New York Daily *Graphic*, March 4, 1889, pp.38-39

(2) Stephen H. Horgan, "Where Halftone Began," *The Inland Printer* 78,5,(Feburary 1927):788

(3) Lida Rose McCabe, "The Beginnings of Halftone," *The Inland Printer*, 73,(April 1924):69

(4) William Welling, Photography In The Formative Years 1839-1900 (New York: Crowell Co., 1978), p.263

(5) Horgan, p. 788

(6) Ibid.

(7) Roger Butterfield, "Pictures in the Papers," American Heritage XIII (June 1962): 48

(8) Horgan, p. 788

(9) Quoted in Ibid.

(10) Fredrick E. Ives, The Autobiography of an Amateur Inventor, (Philadelphia: Innes and Sons Press, 1928), p.54

(11) H.D.Farquhar, "Photoengraving," *The Inland Printer*, 8,8, (May 1891):684

(12) W. Lewis Fraser, "A Word About the Century's Pictures," *The Century Magazine* 49, (January 1895):479

(13) Letter to the editor, *The Critic* XXV (August 11, 1894): 98

(14) *The Critic* XXIV (May 26, 1894):365

(15) Quoted in Welling, p.364

(16) James B. Carrington, "American Illustration and the Reproductive Arts," *Scribner's* LXXII (July, 1922):124

(17) Frank Luther Mott, A History of Magazines,1885-1905 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 5 & 53

(18) Carrington, p.124

(19) Farquhar, p.683

(20) *Illustrated Catalogue of Photographic Equipments and Materials for Amateurs*, (New York: January 1891) E. & H.T. Anthony & Co., preface

(21) Newhall, p.91-93

(22) Welling, p.363

(23) Ibid., p.359

(24) Ibid., p.369

(25) Ibid., p.301

(26) *The Nation*, 56, (April 27, 1893):307

(27) Editorial, *The Ladies Home Journal* XV (November 1898): 18

(28) Personal analysis of the magazines listed

(29) Ibid.

(30) Clifton Johnson, "The Newspaper, the Magazine and the Public," *Outlook* LXI (February 4, 1899):320

(31) Clement Shorter, " Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," *Contemporary Review* 75 (1899):492

"... A BEAUTIFUL GESTURE THAT IS PERFECTLY MEANINGLESS ..." THE ASNE DEBATE OVER TEETH IN ITS CODE OF ETHICS, 1923-1932

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... a beautiful gesture that is perfectly meaningless ...

The ASNE debate over teeth in the Code of Ethics, 1923-1932

The editor of the **Philadelphia Evening Bulletin**, Fred Fuller Shedd was overjoyed. "The vote for adoption is unanimous," he exclaimed to members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors meeting at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C. April 22, 1932. "Thank God!"[1] After six years of heated debate between editors led by "die-hards"[2] such as Herbert Bayard Swope of the New York **World** and Willis Abbot of the **Christian Science Monitor** seeking methods to enforce a code of ethics, and a group of more cautious editors including Shedd and ASNE founder Casper Yost of the **St. Louis Post-Democrat** described at various times as "pussyfooting"[3] "old fogies"[4] or "yellow bellies"[5], the ASNE had finally reached accord on a compromise designed to give some teeth or enforcement powers to a code of ethics conceived at the first annual meeting of the society in April, 1923. The debate over ethics enforcement not only was the major divisive issue during the first decade of the ASNE's existence but served for a number of years as a contributing factor to the ASNE's perceived lack of credibility with the public as well as other journalists.[6] The steps leading to the passage of the code and the 1932 compromise omitting what some described as "the court character" of the ASNE and replacing it with a "due process clause", helps shed light on the environment, personalities and philosophical approaches toward ethics, as well as the prickly question of enforcement or non enforcement of ethics under the

First Amendment freedoms not only in the ASNE's early years but for today. A study of the minutes and proceedings of the organization as well as correspondence and secondary sources also provide insights into the ASNE's early relationship with newspaper editor/publisher turned U.S. president Warren Harding and controversial **Denver Post** editor Harry Bonfils who helped provoke the first major ethics debate because of their direct and indirect roles in the Teapot Dome scandal.

Remarkably, the ethic's code which caused so much contention during the first ten years of the organization's existence and which continues even today in organizations such as the Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi[7] was written primarily by one person and adopted within a two-day period at the ASNE's first conference in Washington, D.C. April 27-28, 1923. In reality, the organization came into existence the previous year in Chicago when Yost, the editor of the editorial page at the St. Louis **Globe-Democrat**, and four others from the mid-western states met at the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago in February, 1922 to discuss collective action for the advancement of the news and editorial side, to develop a constitution and code of ethics and to launch a recruiting campaign for the organization.[8]

Included among the four founding fathers of the organization who called for the first ethics code along with Yost were Erie C. Hopwood of the Cleveland **Plain Dealer**, E.S. Beck, Chicago **Tribune**; Charles H. Dennis, Chicago **Daily News**, and George E. Miller, Detroit **News**. Among the 49 charter members and other interested editors who were enlisted by October was H. J. Wright of the New York **Globe** who was assigned to write the draft of a code of ethics to be presented at the first convention presided over by Yost.

A studious little man who weighed scarcely a hundred pounds, Yost is said to have added much to the journalistic traditions of St. Louis by his development to the contribution of professional ethics which he practiced scrupulously in the conduct of his editorial page until his death in May, 1941[9]. Little Casper, though tagged "Arsenic-and-old-lace" by his contemporaries, might better be called the father of the modern concept of the responsibility of the press - a concept often lost today in the more dramatic scuffles about freedom of the press[10].

Assisting Yost in the early organization of the ASNE was another mid-western editor, Erie Hopwood, who followed Yost as president of the ASNE from 1926-1927. More significantly, Hopwood served as the secretary of the fledgling organization during its 1923 debate over the creation of an ethics grievance committee. It was Hopwood who suggested that the creation of a grievance committee was unneeded as an ethics committee could watch out for flagrant ethics violations[11] In his history of the Cleveland newspaper, Archer Shaw says that "few men ever brought to the **Plain Dealer** greater gifts than Hopwood, and none ever made greater use of his gifts to the glory of newspapermaking in Ohio".[12] Along with Yost and a number of other editors, Hopwood also attempted to bring his philosophy to the national level.

The third founding father of the ASNE was Edward Scott "Teddy" Beck. Indiana born and a graduate of the University of Michigan, Beck was described by one colleague as "a man of education and natural refinement, conservative, tactful, mild mannered." Beck's only fault in the opinion of a colleague was that he had been beaten down too much by flamboyant London-born managing editor James Kelley when Beck was city editor[13]

Although the minutes and proceedings do not show Beck playing a major role in the ethics debate, personal correspondence between Beck and another early member of the pro tem board of directors, Arthur Krock of the **Louisville Times**, underscores Beck's desire for independence from publisher control of newspapers.

> At the outset I fell in with the idea but on the whole the organization developed feebly. In a basic sense, it seems to me that the trouble is that we are employees and are, to a degree, under inhibitions and cannot speak freely for our papers. I do not know that the association as it has evolved is of considerable value, but the acquaintanceship is pleasant and perhaps useful.[14]

The proceedings of the ASNE as well as minutes provide little information on the role of the two other founders in the ethics discussion: Charles H. Dennis of the Chicago **Daily News**. Dennis and George E. Miller of the Detroit **News**. Lutz records that Miller was a former Washington correspondent who helped Senator-elect Charles E. Townsend promote the idea of what was to later become the St. Lawrence Seaway.[15] Dennis took a more active role in the ethics debate in 1927 when he helped submit an amendment to put teeth in the ethics code only to have it turned down because of its court-like character. Ted Smiley of the Philadelphia **Public-Ledger** compared the process to something approaching the board of censors of the Bar Association, "but lacking the backing of the courts and without similar processes to pursue."[16]

Dennis was the chairperson of the committee on program which invited John W. Davis, president of the American Bar Association, as one of the two major speakers. Dennis also helped establish the agenda reflecting major journalism concerns of the early 1920s including the growing reliance on syndicates and press service copy, schools of journalism, truth and accuracy in the news, the reader's part in instructing the editor and seeking and getting publicity.[17] As noted by Frederick Allen in his informal history of the 1920s, the era from the end of World War I to the stock market crash were "ballyhoo years" for many newspapers, particularly those in major urban areas.[18] There were fewer newspapers with larger circulations and they were being standardized to an unprecedented degree by the use of press association and syndicated material. Newspapers all over the country were also being gathered into chains under more or less centralized direction.[19]

One of the reporters who helped to create the popular stereotype or image of Chicago-type journalism during this period with one of editor Dennis' reporters at the **Daily News**, Ben Hecht. The co-author with Charles McArthur of the Broadway play and later film **Front Page**, Hecht writes that Dennis "despite being a world-thinker, righteous editorial writer and passionate grammarian was not without a touch of newspaper larceny in his soul."[20]

Adoption of the Code of Ethics

Aside from his Thomas Jeffersonian role as the author of the first ethics code, little is known of H. J. Wright. He appears in the 1923 Proceedings to introduce the seven point code of ethics, defends it, helps revise it, and then disappears from the organization. Even the history of the first fifty years of ASNE mis-identifies Wright's newspaper as the New York **World** rather than the **Globe**.[21]

Some of this confusion may come from the fact that the best known New York journalist defending the code as well as methods of enforcing it during the 1923 debate was Herbert Bayard Swope, who had been executive editor of Joseph Pulitzer's newspaper since 1920. Once referred to as "The **World's** greatest reporter -- New York **World** or the whole wide world,"[22] Swope was joined in the first day discussion by Edgar B. Piper of the Portland **Oregonian**, Charles Dennis, Willis Abbot, Archer Shaw of the **Plain Dealer**, Arthur M. Howe of the Brooklyn **Eagle**, Johns of the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, Marvin H. Creager of the Milwaukee **Journal** and Arthur Vandenberg, editor of the Grand Rapids **Herald** who was to be appointed a U.S. Senator in 1928. After making some minor changes and further discussion from J. T. Williams of the Boston **Transcript** and Arthur Krock of the **Louisville Times**, the code was unanimously adopted on the second day. Following an impressive preamble, the canons emphasized seven major points: 1. responsibility, 2. freedom of the press, 3. independence, 4. sincerity, truthfulness, accuracy, 5. impartiality, 6. fair play and 7. decency.

Grievance Committee to Enforce Code

Adoption of the code as a first step was not satisfactory to Wright and a number of others at the first conference, however. "If we are to give it any useful purpose, we must keep it alive and keep it up-to-date," he advised. To do this Wright recommended appointing a seven person standing grievance committee similar to the grievance committee of the American Bar Association to make interpretations of the code which could be changed from meeting to meeting[23].

Such a grievance committee was opposed by both Smiley of the **Philadelphia Public Ledger** and James T. Williams of the Boston **Transcript**. The latter said he was speaking for members of the New England Association who felt that the newly formed organization was biting off more than it could chew. "I very much fear that we shall lose some of our members if we attempt too much," he warned.[24] Smiley said he did not believe that the ASNE should proceed to set itself up as anything close to the board of censors of the Bar Association. "You haven't got the backing of the courts and you have no similar processes to pursue. Using the language of the street, Williams said, we are "going to bite off more than we could chew."[25]

Swope, was diametrically opposed to what he felt was stopping short of setting forth our conception of what ought to be done. "Later we can discover how that can be done," he argued. "It seems to me that, lacking teeth, which we discussed yesterday, we can substitute thereof a moral factor. If we don't, we have indulged in a beautiful gesture that is entirely meaningless, and I for one decline to participate farther in such an empty motion," he said.[26] The first debate ended after observations by Hopwood and Abbot and others who noted that the ethics committee could serve the purpose of the grievance committee being considered, and Wright withdrew his motion. In his closing remarks, Yost called attention to the "extraordinary skill and intelligence" of Wright and his committee in creating the code. "It was a real task to have created a Code of Ethics of that kind in view of the fact that there was really nothing upon which to base a beginning," Yost said.

> He had to make a start from nothing, from his own conceptions and the conceptions of journalists as to the ethical principles and their practice and make a definite Code that would appeal to this Society in general.[27]

Yost also said that he felt that Wright had established what will be a "guidestone for future journalism. Whatever may be developed from that, we have started it, we have done something concrete and definite toward the establishment of ethical principles."[28]

President Harding's Observations on Ethics

Taking note of Wright's work in writing and guiding the Code of Ethics to its passage that same night was President Warren Harding who spoke to the ASNE at its first annual convention. "There has never been a time, gentlemen, when a fitting code of ethics was so essential to the press of America," Harding said in his remarks that began with recollections of his childhood. Although Harding did not discuss the newly adopted code in detail there were three ethical concerns he said he wished to discuss in his rambling remarks: responsibility, decency and the need to omit news at times.

"I believe that if I were to write the code and could write it for all other newspapers in America," the former Marion, Ohio journalist said to the editors, "I would ban everything of a vicious character except that which is necessary as a public warning. If I ran a newspaper to suit my own ideals, there would not be a police court reporter on the paper - never a police court column in the paper."[29] In conclusion, Harding said:

> You know there is a fine bit of ethics sometimes in the omission of news as well as the publication of it. I think there are oftentimes when the news ought to be suppressed. There are certainly times when news of international importance cannot be given to the public ... Don't you see how important it is to tell the simple, comforting truth? And don't you see how important it is to omit the things that tend to destroy the faith in Society? Don't you see how essential it is that you preach

> faith in the justice of the republic rather than a suspicion that justice cannot abide under our present social system?[30]

Some indication of Harding's troubled state of mind before his sudden death in San Francisco August 2, 1923 can be seen in a chapter entitled "An American Tragedy" by William Allen White, who met with the president shortly before his speech. Hamilton Owens, editor-in-chief of the **Baltimore Sun** and **The Evening Sun**, recalled that newspapers were already full of the stories of the doings of the 'Ohio gang.' "Mr. Harding was not my idea of the perfect mentor for newspaper editors," Owens recalls. "Still he was an editor by courtesy and the society had granted him honorary membership.[31]

The Bonfils Affair

Notwithstanding the general consensus at the first meeting and the pleasant words from President Harding, who would be dead before the next meeting [32], the ASNE was not to be spared the agony of an ongoing ethics debate which was to persist into the next decade. Coincidentally, the debate was triggered by the Harding administration scandal concerning naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyoming and Elk River, California that were leased to private parties without competitive bidding by Albert B. Fall, the Secretary of the Interior. Denver **Post** publisher Harry Bonfils allegedly had a conflict of interest after his newspaper initially wrote news stories and editorials challenging the actions, only to stop writing about the scandal after becoming involved in transactions with a landowner. Although never mentioned by name in the ASNE minutes or in its ASNE Proceedings,[33] the Bonfils affair was to haunt the society for the next two years and help shape its position on ethics for the rest of its organizational life.

According to the colorful account of former **Denver Post** reporter Gene Fowler, Bonfil's connection with the Teapot Dome scandal of Harding's cash and carry administration was "incredibly weird." The **Post** was the first newspaper to break wide-open the malodorous deal of the Salt Creek reserve -- nevertheless, in the end Bonfils benefitted handsomely.[34] Although not a part of the scandal itself, Bill Hosokawa says the **Denver Post** became involved "in a curious indirect manner."[35]

Led by "firebrand" Willis John Abbot of the **Christian Science Monitor**, the membership instructed the board of directors "to investigate charges made against certain members and take action accordingly."[36] At an organizational meeting at Atlantic City, April 25 it was moved that the investigation of charges affecting certain newspapermen, as provided in the resolution be referred to the committee on ethical standards and that Yost be empowered to give any necessary instruction.[37] The following year Yost reported that the board had retained counsel to make the society's position fair and secure as well as morally right. Unfortunately, for the firebrands, however, the counsel advised that the society's position was valid under the constitution only in regard to expulsion for misconduct in a person's personal and not professional life. Acting upon recommendation of the committee, the board invited Bonfils, his attorney and E.D. Stacklebeck, a reporter, who had much to do with the production of a number of **Post** stories that were never used, to appear before the board.[38] At its fall meeting in 1926, the board adopted a report censuring and suspending Mr. Bonfils from the society.[39] After further examination of the issue with attorneys, the board rescinded its action against Bonfils after finding that board did not have the authority to discipline its members.[40]

The Ongoing debate

Rescinding of the censure and suspensions action against Bonfils, however, did not end the question of ethics enforcement by general membership under the leadership of Abbot and Swope (before the latter left journalism in 1929). They continued to agitate for changes in the constitution to allow for censure and expulsion of members such as Bonfils and another unnamed member. In April 1929, secretary Marvin Creager read an amendment drawn up by John W. Davis, attorney for the Associated Press. It provided the board authority to cause an investigation for violations of professional ethics, and gave the board power to censure, suspend or expel offending members.

Speaking out against such an amendment was Walter M. Harrison of the **Oklahoma City Oklahoman**, the new president, and Samuel M. Williams, editor-in-chief of the St. Paul **Dispatch Pioneer Press.** After six years of discussion, Harrison argued that "everything that could have been said, has been said on the subject.[41] Williams claimed that the ASNE had no right to inflict upon a member a punishment that would extend beyond him individually.

> You have the right to discipline the membership of your own voluntary association as long as the penalties fall upon that member, but when by inference or indirection the action of a small group, a handful of men may result in irreparable damage to properties with which they may be connected, than I say we are going beyond our rights, our privileges, our duties toward the owners of the property which may be ourselves, or it may be others who employ us. [42]

Despite a long series of passionate arguments on behalf of the amendment, Abbot was unable to gain support from the floor. Also speaking against the motion were Beck and Yost. Beck said the effects of the amendment "instead of strengthening, it might be or probably would be weakening the society." Yost said he did not believe the amendment was practicable or desirable. "Any violation of ethics is the work of an institution. We cannot convict a newspaper in this society, we have no right to do it."

> We cannot find any individual editor guilty of a violation of ethical conduct, because you cannot fix the responsibility a single individual in an institution and hold that individual responsible for what it may do. I think the possibility of action by this Society or by the Board of Directors on questions of ethical conduct would be likely to be destructive and bad for the Society.[43]

The vote against the 1929 amendment was 34-21. President Harrison said he thought it would be in the best interests of all of us, if for at least one year we put aside all discussion of the question.[44]

The 1931 Debate

Despite the ongoing rebuff from both the leadership and membership of the ASNE, Abbot did not give up. In 1931 he spoke on behalf of resurrecting the resolution drafted by Davis to be presented to the membership at the next annual meeting. Among other things, Abbot stressed the need for organizations to be able to expel members for reasons other than "actually ushering him into the doors of a penitentiary."[45] Without mentioning the name of the ASNE boogie man, Abbot described him "as notorious, (and) whose guilt was demonstrated not only in our hearing, but in official hearings of various kinds, and who was a scoff and by-word in journalistic circles of the United States."[46]

This time, Abbot received some support on the floor from Tom Wallace of the **Louisville Times** who noted the ASNE had been excoriated by many respectable newspapers because it would not take any action on the matter "that showed we have any backbone or any disposition to put out of the society, if he once gets in, any common crook - not an editor who is guilty of some indiscretion or unethical practice, but let us say a man who was put in the penitentiary."[47]

Yost disagreed with Wallace's assertion about the impotency of the society he had help found eight years previously. "Every society in existence has an inherent and inalienable right, constitution or no constitution, to decide whom it shall take into its membership and who it shall eject from that membership, for cause," he said. Later in the heated discussion, the diminutive Yost said he "didn't enjoy a fight, although I was once redheaded, but Mr. Abbot has accused me of a lapse of memory."

Abbot replied in kind to Yost's remarks about his own recollections about the 1924 attempt to expel Bonfils.

> ...my recollection is that what happened was that the gentleman who we strove to discipline being a pugnacious person served notice on us that each one of us directors would be made the defendant is a suit of any where from ten to five hundred thousand dollars apiece for having slandered him and there wasn't enough guts in the whole board of directors to be willing to stand that risk. I know I didn't have them.[48]

Following Abbot`s recollections and his ongoing defense as the floor leader for stronger ethics enforcement coupled with some legislative maneuvers by Lawrence, a motion was made to have a subcommittee of the Board of Directors investigate the matter and make a report to the Board from which to make a concrete proposal to the membership the following year. The question was put to a vote and passed unanimously.

In the give and take spirit which characterized the ASNE despite the strong language of the ethics debate, Abbot was also elected to the board of directors. This caused Yost to comment:

> I don't know of any more valuable member of the Society from its

> beginning than Mr. Willis Abbot. He has been a valuable member of the Board and it gratifies me greatly to see him reelected. I would regret it very much if he had been dropped out. We want him and we need him. We don't agree on anything, but he is a good fellow. [49]

The 1932 Discussion

Notwithstanding the decade long battle over ethics enforcement, the same good spirit that existed when the 1931 session ended seemed to prevail in the 1932 meeting. Abbot appeared in a "crippled condition" to move for adoption of a formal report hammered out in the mid-year meeting in Philadelphia. Abbot said that he and Yost had discovered that both were seeking the same thing for the good of the organization and for journalism.

> We found, like the character in Moliere, who was astonished to discover that he had been speaking prose all his life and didn't know it, that the prosaic materialism of the Globe-Democrat as applied to this matter and the poetic idealism of the Christian Science Monitor had both for their aim the strengthening of the ethical standards of our Society.[50]

Yost's remarks were less effusive. He noted simply that the board of directors had devised a formula that "like charity would cover a multitude of sins." The phrase "due cause," he said was sufficiently broad and comprehensive to apply to any conceivable contingency that may arise within the experience of the Society."[51]

In his remarks, Abbot noted that there had only been two instances in the ten year history of the association where possibly some disciplinary methods might have been applied to members who rather violated "distinctly ethical standards which the Society should maintain."[52] Wallace, who admitted he had "produced part of the noise on behalf of the action" noted that if the society had not got together it could not have looked forward to the growth and usefulness that it ought to have as the result of the ending of the controversy.[53] Wallace also revealed an interesting irony to the decade-long debate when he noted one of the members of the first Committee on Ethics was still a member in good standing, in so far as the action of the ASNE was concerned, even though he been indicted for a felony. "I think that illustrates the need of a means of disciplining members and removing them for due cause.[54] Returning to the more positive side of the discussion, William Allen White of the **Emporia Gazette** said he wanted to second the motion "with bells."[55]

Even more enthusiastic at the 1932 love fest was Fred Fuller Shedd who also ruled that the resolution was not retroactive. Shedd's reference to deity was followed by a round of applause before the president noted:

> ...I consider this the proudest thing, the best achievement of the two years I have been honored by the presidency of the Society. I think it is the biggest thing that we could have accomplished. I think it means more for the welfare, the growth, the development of the Society, and its general influence and power in the newspaper

> profession, than anything we could
> have done.[56]

Since 1932

Although the unanimous passage of the "due process" resolution in 1932 helped to resolve the after birth struggle over the question of enforcement, it did not end the ethics debate which has persisted throughout the society's history. The minutes indicate that questions about ethics had been raised previously in 1928 when the Society directed its president Walter M. Harrison to communicate with the American Gas Association informing it that it would accept no expense money for his trip to Atlantic City, New Jersey to address the American Gas Association and authorizing the payment of Pres. Harrison's travel expenses by the society.[57] The question of ethics was raised again in 1934 with a proposal to the president that he appoint a committee to consider publicizing newspaper ethics and the importance of freedom of the press,[58] and concerning such issues as subsidies to sports writers from organizations related to their specialties,[59] and in regard to contempt cases involving the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** and Los Angeles **Times** during the period 1922-1949[60] The ASNE also raised the question of ethics by approving President Felix Knight's protest on temporary filing suspension of filing facilities in the European Theatre of Operations because of the alleged premature and unauthorized dispatches announcing the German surrender.[61]

The ethics issue was resurrected in 1947 after publication of the Hutchins Commission Report on Freedom of the Press and again in the administration of Norman Isaacs when the board of directors voted to establish an ethics committee to respond to the complaints against daily newspapers, and to study the legal ramifications of handling complaints against newspapers represented in the society.[62] The announcement in the **ASNE Bulletin** of plans to establish the ethics committee resurrected the controversy and triggered a number of letters and articles including one from former president A.H. Kirchoffer arguing that "the society was never intended to be a regulatory agency and should not be restructured so now." In rhetoric reminiscent of the 1920's Kirkhoffer evoked the memory of patron saint Casper Yost and concluded with a broadside at Isaacs and the board of directors:

> This is leadership? No it is reckless and irresponsible conduct on the part of the men honored by the Society. It is counter to the interest of members and their newspapers which are representitive of the best in American journalism.[63]

As a means of once again defusing the hot potato of ethical enforcement, Isaacs' successor Newbold Noyes of the **Washington Star** appointed a new ethics committee of senior statesmen in the Society including five past presidents to further study the complicated question. They included chair, Erwin D. Canham, Kenneth MacDonald, Vermont Royster, Michael J. Ogden and Vincent S. Jones.[64] The following year Canham said that after an examination of several ethical cases the committee had determined they were "beyond its capabilities" and advised the board of directors to postpone a decision on establishing complaint procedures.[65] Additional nails in the coffin of ethics enforcement came from members who responded to a questionnaire and opposed any action of a grievance committee to receive complaints alleging unethical newspaper practice and pass judgment upon them.

According to William B. Dickinson of the **Philadelphia Bulletin** (the same newspaper Shedd had edited) the committee sent out a six question poll revolving around the issue of a grievance committee. Members who replied to the questionnaire were opposed by more than three to one to any action to set up a grievance committee. An even larger margin voted against establishment of some organization other than the ASNE to handle grievances. In his charge to the new ethics committee in 1972, president Edward Murray concluded that a clear majority opinion had emerged. "It rejects the establishment by ASNE of grievance machinery, censure procedures, or any other method of subjecting individual editors to group judgment concerning their professional ethics."[66]

Since that time the society has moved even further away from efforts to enforce its code, preferring instead to use the term statement of principles of journalism. For legal reasons, Ted Natt, president of the 1990 ethics committee, says the ASNE shys away from calling it a code of ethics but the society clearly speaks to some standards which any newspaper ought to be practicing.[67]

In the nearly seventy years since it was founded, therefore the ASNE has backed off from the divisive position of debating strong censure and suspension techniques to its code of ethics to a less court-like and strict character where the ASNE primarily displays a generalized statement of principles which also has been borrowed by other media organizations. The general softening of its approach from the method propounded by diehard enforcement editors including Herbert Bayard Swope, Willis Abbot and Thomas Wallace to a more conciliatory "due process" tone articulated by Casper Yost and nearly all other ASNE leaders can be seen most vividly in the minutes and proceedings of the ASNE from 1923 until 1932 as well as the minutes and the committee structure in recent decades. With a few exceptions one of the major litmus tests of rising to top leadership positions in ASNE appears to be in following the more moderate ethics enforcement approach demonstrated in the comments of early leaders such as Yost and Shedd. Members who seek more accountability or have advocated a court or council-like approach with censure and suspension have not prevailed and with the exception of Wallace and more recently, Norman Isaacs and Loren Ghiglione who support the concept of media councils, have not been elected by the general membership or by the board of directors to ongoing leadership positions. Although not "perfectly worthless" or completely toothless as described by Herbert Bayard Swope in one of the earliest debates, the code of ethics certainly has not reached the potential ascribed to it by Casper Yost and the other founding fathers of the ASNE.

Endnotes

1. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1932, p. 39. Hereafter referred to as ASNE Proceedings.

2. The term is used Alice Fox Pitts in **Read All About It! 50 Years Of ASNE**, American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1974, p. 35.

3. ASNE Proceedings, 1924, p. 78.

4. Term used by George A. Hough Jr. of the Falmouth (Mass.) **Enterprise**. Quoted by Pitts, 32.

5. ASNE Proceedings, 1924, p. 79.

6. As an example, charter member Arthur Krock recalls that he lost interest in ASNE after members failed to pass a resolution against "certain perverters of responsible newspaper work -- publishers" after some members argued that a group of employees should not commit themselves against their employers. Since that time, Krock said the ASNE had accepted greater responsibility. Quoted in **ASNE Bulletin**, Dec 1, 1947. p. 6

7. For example, see Casey Bukro, "The SPJ Code's Double-Edged Sword: Accountability, Credibility", **Journal of Mass Media Ethics**, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 1985-86), 10-13.

8. See Minutes of organizational meeting of ASNE, April 26, 1922, pgs. 4-5. A second organizational meeting held in Cleveland October 10, 1922 shows that 93 members had enrolled in the society before the annual meeting scheduled for Washington in April 1932. pgs. 6-9.

9. Jim Allee Hart, **A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat**, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1961, 219.

10. Ibid., 248.

11. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, pp 123-24.

12. Archer H. Shaw, **The Plain dealer: One Hundred Years in Cleveland**, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942, 339-40.

13. Lloyd Wendt, **Chicago Tribune: The Rise of a Great American Newspaper**, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1979, p. 599.

14. Pitts, 7.

15. William Lutz, **The News of Detroit: How a Newspaper and a City Grew Together**, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973, 177-78.

16. ASNE Proceedings, 1923. p. 122.

17. ASNE Proceedings, 1923. See the Table of Contents for an overview of the entire two-day conference.

18. Frederick Lewis Allen, **Only Yesterday**, New York: Harper and Row, 1931, 155-187. A critical article by Allen "Newspapers and the Truth," in **Atlantic Monthly** January, 1922, was said to be a major reason Yost decided to start an organization to combine forces to combat attacks on newspapers (See Pitts, p. 3).

19. Ibid, p. 157.

20. Ben Hecht, **A Child of the Century**, New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1954, p. 276.

21. See Pitts, p. 5. Richard Kluger in **The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986, p. 210) says that after its founding in 1904 the **Globe** absorbed the **Commercial Advertiser**, and became "a surprisingly fresh, liberal and independent voice in New York newspaperdom." In 1923, the same year Wright helped write the ASNE code of ethics, Frank Munsey paid $2 million for the **Globe** and merged it into Munsey's evening **Sun** with positive results.

22. Christine M. Miller in **Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism**, New York: Greenwood Pres, 1989, 687.

23. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, p. 121.

24. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, p. 123. Additional information on Williams can be found in **The Boston Transcript: A History of its First Hundred Years,** Boston; Houghton Mifflin, 1930 by Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. The North Carolina native is described as "a distinctly one hundred percent American." He went to work for Hearst in 1925.

25. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, pp. 122-23.

26. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, p. 122.

27. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, p. 152.

28. Ibid, 152.

29. ASNE Proceedings, 1923, p. 164.

30. Ibid, p. 165.

31. Hamilton Owens, **ASNE Bulletin**, September, 1955, p. 9.

32. In addition to the death of president Harding, the ASNE also lost one of its founders with the death of Frank Cobb of the **New York World.**

33. Although not mentioned by name in the ASNE Proceedings, Bonfil's name is included in the "confidential" index of the meetings of the board of director, April 25, 1922-April 20, 1949 under the heading "Teapot Dome Investigation". Early references requesting the committee on ethical standards to conduct an investigation, or referring the issue back to the committee refer to "certain newspapermen" or "certain members of the newspaper profession."It is only when Bonfils appears before the board of directors (31), when he is censured and suspended from membership (34-36) and when the board rescinds its action (38) that Bonfils' name is mentioned in the minutes.

34. Gene Fowler, **Timberline: A Story of Bonfils and Tammen**, Garden City: Blue Ribbon Books, 1940, 405.

35. Bill Hosokawa, **Thunder in the Rockies: The Incredible Denver Post**, New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976, 138.

36. ASNE Proceedings, 1924, pgs. 67-77.

37. ASNE Minutes, 23.

38. ASNE Minutes, Jan. 17, 1925, 31.

39. ASNE Minutes, February 9, 1926, 34-36.

40. ASNE Minutes, October 5, 1926, p. 38.

41. ASNE Proceedings, 1929, 156.

42. ASNE Proceedings, 1929, 157.

43. Ibid, 1929, 160.

44. Ibid, 1929, 160.

45. ASNE Proceedings, 1931, 138.

46. Ibid.

47. ASNE Proceedings, 1931, 137. A colleague of "firebrand" Arthur Krock, Wallace was chief of the editorial staff from 1923 until he was named editor in 1930. An admirer of Marse Henry Watterson, Wallace was the only one of the ethics firebrands ever to be elected ASNE president. He held the office from 1940-41.

48. ASNE Proceedings, 1931, 141.

49. Ibid, 146.

50. ASNE Proceedings, 1932, 37.

51. ASNE Proceedings, 1932, p. 38.51.

52. Ibid, 37.

53. Ibid, 38.

54. Ibid, 38. Wallace was wrong when he said he was a member of the first committee on ethical standards. The 1923 Proceedings show the following members of which Wallace is not named: Jas. T. Williams, H.R. Galt, Charles McD., Puckette, Donald Sterling, James Stuart.

55. Ibid, 39.

56. Ibid, 39.

57. ASNE Minutes, Oct. 14, 1928, p. 49.

58. ASNE Minutes, April 19, 1934, 93.

59. ASNE Minutes, April 17, 1941, p. 162.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid, 6.

62. ASNE Minutes, February 24, 1970, pgs. 421-434. For a more detailed account of those "having the temerity to embrace a cause that challenge(s) the most sacred cow in journalism's holy credo -- its self proclaimed right to reject any type of examination of its performance," see chapter 6, "The seed bed of heresy," in **Untended Gates: The Mismanaged Press**, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986 by Norman E. Isaacs.

63. A.H. Kirchoffer, "The Ethics Committee Idea -- A Negative Reaction," **ASNE Bulletin**, 8-9.

64. ASNE Minutes, October 2, 1970, 471-72.

65. ASNE Minutes, October 4, 1971, p. 559.

66. ASNE Minutes, April 22, 1972, p. 569.

67. Ted M. Natt, chair, ASNE ethics committee, 1990. Letter to the author, April 12, 1990.

student paper

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"...to leave this beggarly profession" A Study of Lawyers in Journalism

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"...to leave this beggarly profession" A Study of Lawyers in Journalism

Introduction

On December 21, 1824, shortly before he began his career as one of America's most famous editors, William Cullen Bryant wrote one of his close friends concerning his decision to leave the legal profession for journalism. Bryant said, "I am fixed in my determination to leave this beggarly profession" (Boylan 83). Although Bryant did not elaborate on his reasons for choosing to give up a law practice in Massachusetts for a journalism career in New York, he was not the first to leave the legal profession for a career in journalism. Indeed, the ranks of journalism are sprinkled with former lawyers who have become among the greatest leaders in journalism.

The purpose of this paper is to get a rough estimate of the number of these former lawyers, to assess the reasons why they left law for the more uncertain field of journalism, and to attempt to determine the contributions that their legal training has brought to journalism. The major hypothesis is that legal training has had a considerable influence on American journalism.

Methodology

In order to test the hypothesis, to determine whether the legal field has significantly influenced American journalism, the author examined 6 major biographical studies on newspaper and magazine journalists, as well as 47 other books on their lives. By reading the 307 biographies of the newspaper and magazine journalists listed in the Dictionary of Literary Biography, the author compiled quantitative data about the number of journalists with legal training. The author also determined the amount of legal exposure each journalist had received and then placed them in one of the following categories:

1. journalists with no or very limited exposure to the legal field.
2. journalists whose fathers or husbands were lawyers.
3. journalists that studied law informally.
4. journalists with formal legal training.
5. journalists who passed the bar.
6. journalists who practiced law.
7. journalists who received an honorary doctorate of law.

The results of the author's study indicated that 75 of the 307 journalists studied, or approximately one in four, had some type of legal training themselves or at least had a father or husband who was a lawyer. Statistics also show that of those 75 journalists with some exposure to law, almost 27 percent practiced law, and an additional 8 percent passed the bar but didn't practice (for the statistical data see Figures I-VII).

Twenty-one percent of the journalists with exposure to law were characterized as having had formal legal training (only those who attended law school were placed in this category) and 17 percent were characterized as having had informal legal training (those who read law on their own or studied law under the tutelage of a lawyer or a judge were placed in this category). Twenty-one percent of the journalists with exposure to law had either a father or a husband who was a lawyer, and 5 percent were awarded honorary doctorates of law for their "expertise in the field" (Ullrich 271).

Characteristics of Lawyers and Journalists

Because, at least statistically, law has had a significant influence on American journalism, it is necessary to determine whether the qualities of a successful lawyer might also prove critical to a journalist's success. In determining whether legal skills may prove valuable to the journalist, the study cites the skills and values critical to the lawyer, and compared these with those required by the journalist. Such a comparison suggests whether lawyers and journalists possess any of the same basic characteristics.

According to Scott W. Cameron, Assistant Dean of Brigham Young University's Law School, the essential skills of a lawyer are to see both sides of an issue, to separate the relevant from the irrelevant, and then to construct sound and valid arguments. Cameron also said that "legal training teaches a person to tell the difference between fact and opinion, to see the strengths and weaknesses of any argument, to analyze and evaluate, and, most importantly, to be objective." Training enables a lawyer to take a particular view, and "then use his lawyerly skill as an advocate to push forward that view."

According to the authors of the text, Media Writing, the three most essential skills for a news writer are honesty, accuracy, and fairness (Newsom and Wollert 31). The question of what makes a good reporter is addressed by the authors of the journalism text The Complete Reporter. They say that "perhaps the best qualifications for a reporter--aside from desire and ability to write for print--are insatiable curiosity, a flexible and sociable personality, ambition, drive determination, and most certainly, self-discipline" (Harriss, Leiter and Johnson 6).

Cameron believes that law and journalism require some of the same basic skills. Both the lawyer and the journalist must learn to analyze and evaluate, to persuade, to advocate, and to be objective. Another similarity between lawyers and journalists, according to Cameron, is their mutual concern for the truth, their concern not only for revealing the truth but also defending it. Clearly, both lawyer and journalist, when necessary, will use advocacy to persuade their audience and champion their cause.

Reasons for Seeking Legal Training

Although it is possible that journalists seek legal training to become more successful reporters, there are two alternative means of explaining the reporter with legal training. First, many journalists belonged to families with legal traditions. Second, law was considered a lucrative profession with a high degree of status.

The influence of strong legal tradition can be illustrated in the life of journalist John M. Daniel. His biographer, Charles A. Fair, pointed our that:

> Daniel's roots were in the law. Although he was the son of a country doctor, his ancestry included Thomas Stone, a lawyer and signer of the Declaration of Independence; and his great-uncle, with whom he lived as a teenager, was Justice Peter V. Daniel of the United States Supreme Court...A decision was made for

> him to pursue a career in law, and he was sent to Fredericksburg, Virginia, to read under the tutelage of Judge John Tayloe Lomax (134).

Just as the legal tradition of John Daniel's family influenced his study of law, so did George Wisner influence his own sons. Both George and his brother, Moses, practiced law and subsequently both of George's sons grew up to be lawyers (Sims 473).

It seems that, although legal tradition in many families was quite strong, the desire to study law for many others stemmed from the fact that law was viewed as both a profitable and prestigious profession. When Joseph Dennie graduated from college, he was equally qualified to enter into law, medicine, or the ministry; however, he choose to study law because it "appeared to offer the best chance to make a living" (Coll 152).

History suggests that law was viewed with prestige and as a possible means of entering politics. Such was the case for William Cullen Bryant who, according to his biographer Parke Godwin, was originally intended for a profession in medicine; however, "the law, with its prospects of political preferment presented greater attraction, and...it was decided he should become a lawyer" (102). Although "his shy and delicate nature was not precisely fitted to the turmoils of politics or the rude conflicts of law; the pursuit was not wholly inconsistent with the indulgence of his poetic bents, and so he submitted willingly to the choice of his parents" (103).

Bryant was not the only journalist whose parents saw the potential political advantages of legal training. Robert R. McCormick enrolled in the Northwestern University Law School primarily because his father believed it "would give him the opportunity to meet important people" (Sewell 203). His father's desire for his son to enter politics was realized when before Robert could graduate from law school, he was approached by political leaders and asked to run for city alderman.

It would be inaccurate, however, to conclude that all journalists favored legal training. In fact, both Morrill Goddard and Henry Villard fled rather than be forced by their fathers to pursue a career in law. Morrill Goddard, when finished with his studies at Dartmouth, did not even wait to collect his diploma. "It appears, to foil his father's plan to set him to studying law--Goddard left Hanover for New York City" (Boylan 90). When Henry Villard's father had him transferred from Munich to the University of Wurzburg and committed him to study law, "Heinrich borrowed money from relatives and immigrated to New York" (Smith 335).

Reasons for Leaving the Legal Profession

Journalists may have entered law because of family legal traditions or in attempt to find financial success or status, but history records that these journalists eventually abandoned law. Of those journalists who gave reasons for leaving law, it seems that their reasons can, for the most part, be grouped into the following general categories: First, they either disliked law or found greater interest in journalism. Second, they found a lack of success in law or found it necessary to leave law for other financial reasons. Third, they received encouragement from others to pursue a career in journalism. Finally, some lawyers entered the field of journalism while serving as legal counsel for a newspaper or were approached to enter journalism because of their legal training.

The first and major reason given by journalists for abandoning law was either a dislike for law or a greater interest in journalism. For example, William Cullen Bryant's biographer James Boylan indicated that Bryant spent nearly a decade "trying to come to terms with a profession that he never really liked, while at the same time being inexorably drawn toward a life of letters" (82). It fact, less than six months after Bryant wrote to a friend on December 21, 1824, indicating his desire to leave the "beggarly profession" of law, he moved to New York and began work as co-editor of the New-York Review and Atheneum Magazine (83).

Bryant preferred journalism to law and in this respect he was not alone. Although a significant number of journalists had studied law, most had a greater interest in journalism. This was affirmed by Sam G. Riley, who said of journalist John Inman, "Like so many other young men with legal training in this era, Inman found greater attraction in journalistic work" (193).

Josephus Daniels and Henry Woodfin Grady are examples of journalists who may have stayed in law had it not been for a greater interest in journalism. Daniels attended the summer session of the University of North Carolina Law School (Morrison, "the small-d" 6) because as Daniels explained in his autobiography, "I conceived the idea that I could practice law and also edit the Wilson Advance (229).

After Daniels received his license to practice law, he was given the opportunity to edit the State Chronicle (Morrison, "Editor's Political" 11). Concerning this event Daniels said, "It was while I was reading law that the opportunity for realizing my life's ambition came and was embraced...I decided that my long-cherished desire to edit a paper in Raleigh could be realized" (247).

Henry Woodfin Grady, studied at University of Virginia and briefly considered law as a profession, "but he had written several letters for the Atlanta Constitution, and these brought him widespread encouragement for a career in journalism" (Davis 279).

(Washington Irving and Joseph Dennie are additional examples).

The second reason given by journalists for leaving law was either a lack of opportunity to pursue additional legal training (some journalists were never really able to enter law because of financial reasons), or a lack of success in the profession. Some journalists had family financial situations which required them to find employment rather than study law formally, others were not able to make an adequate living in law, and still others were unable to pass the bar.

John M. Daniel, Frank Cobb, and Irvin Cobb are examples of journalists who never had the opportunity to pursue formal legal training because of financial reasons. John Daniel's roots were in law, and he actually began to study law under the tutelage of Judge John Tayloe Lomax. However, when his father died he was forced to return home to Richmond to find a job and help raise his brother. He abandoned his plans for a career as a lawyer and took a job as a librarian. It was here he began writing articles and submitting them to a newspaper. As a result of these submissions he was offered the editorship of a monthly agricultural magazine the Southern Planter (Fair 134).

Both Frank and Irvin Cobb had hoped to enter law school, but because of family financial situations both were forced to take employment instead. According to Irvin Cobb's biographer Sam G. Riley, "His original ambition was to go to a military school, then law school...but when his father drank himself to death, Cobb took the best-paying job he could find--cub reporter for the Paducah Evening News at $1.75 a week" (50). Frank Cobb, instead of entering law school, took a job at $6-a-week on the Grand Rapids Telegram Herald before becoming political writer for the Detroit Evening News (Bradshaw 116).

Noah Webster is probably the best example of a journalist who attempted to enter law but was unable to establish a successful practice because of family finances and the nature of the legal profession. Webster's father had mortgaged his farm to send Noah to Yale, but "when he went home, after Commencement, his father gave him and eight-dollar bill of the Continental currency, worth about fifty cents on the dollar, and left him to his own resources" (Scudder 8). Therefore, although Noah looked forward to a career as a lawyer, he found it necessary to support himself (Shoemaker 20) and "like so many others from his background, Webster turned to school teaching to earn a living" (Rollins 19).

Although Noah Webster read law and was later admitted to the bar in Hartford, the "Revolution had so disrupted American life that the legal profession was in shambles. For a while he maintained an office in Hartford, but handled few cases and collected only small fees" (Moss 5). He could neither repay his father nor make enough to live on, so relinquishing the law, Webster resumed teaching (Scudder 9).

Albion W. Tourgee, Joseph Dennie, and Joseph Medill are additional examples of journalists who eventually left law because work was limited. Albion Tourgee was admitted to the bar but finding clients scarce, he taught school and worked as a newspaper reporter to support himself (Russell 288).

Joseph Dennie opened his law office in Charleston in 1794 and was determined "'to assert my independence, to uphold and to defend causes with unspotted hands and to be ready for business whether clients enter or avoid my doors'" (79). Unfortunately, according to his biographer James S. Featherston, clients were scarce and when he did appear in court his persuasive oratory was sometimes wasted on ill-educated rural judges. Although his law practice did not succeed, Joseph Dennie later wrote that it was the happiest time of his life, a time when he slept soundly"'unscarred by the spectre of poverty'" (79). However, Featherston noted that one year after opening his practice, he left for Boston seeking to capitalize on his literary talents to earn money to supplement his meager income (79).

Joseph Medill set up a law practice but because work was hard to find, he began spending time at the offices of newspapers in the vicinity. It was here where he first entered journalism by setting type and writing an occasional editorial (McKerns 319).

In addition to those journalists who found work in law too limited, Robert Abbott is an example of a journalist who never succeeded in law because he was not acknowledged in the legal profession. According to Abbott's biographer Jeane Lange Folkerts, he attended the Kent College of Law in Chicago but "with no well-wishers, in a class of seventy, was awarded a Bachelor of Laws degree" (13). Abbott was never admitted to the Illinois bar, and another black lawyer, who was fair-skinned, told Abbott that he was "`a little too dark to make any impression on the courts of Chicago'" (13).

It was because of this prejudice that Robert Abbott was forced to accept a job as a piecework printer setting railroad times. It was here that he first began talking about his desire to start a newspaper, "`an organ that would mirror the needs, opinions and aspirations of my race'" (Folkerts 13). Although he was never admitted to the bar, it is interesting to note that during his years as editor and publisher of the Defender, he was awarded honorary degrees from Wilberforce University in Ohio and Morris Brown College in Georgia (Snorgrass 5).

The third reason given by journalists for leaving law was encouragement from relatives and friends to pursue a career in journalism. Joseph Medill, Philip Graham, and Henry Raymond were all journalists who were subject to the influence of others. Although Joseph Medill first entered journalism because work in the legal profession was slow, it was his wife Katherine who encouraged him to stay in journalism. With his wife's support, Medill established the Whig paper Daily Forest City in Cleveland (McKerns 320).

Philip Graham was also persuaded by his wife to leave law for journalism. Phil Graham's legal career was interrupted by World War II when he enlisted in the Army Air Force (Williams and Touster 9). However, prior to being sent to the Southwest Pacific, his father-in-law talked to Phil about the future of the Washington Post.

Because Meyer's only son, Bill, was a physician, and the only daughter who had shown any interest in the paper was Katherine, Eugene Meyer tried to persuade his son-in-law Phil Graham to accept a proposal which would give Phil partial control of the paper after the war (Roberts 257). It was Katherine who finally convinced him to accept her father's offer, and after the war in 1946, Phil became Meyer's assistant at the Post. It was a short time later that Phil was left on his own as publisher and editor-in-chief when Eugene Meyer accepted President Truman's offer to become the first head of the World Bank (Davis 113).

Henry Raymond was another lawyer who was persuaded to pursue a career in journalism. After college graduation, Henry Raymond began to consider law as a profession when he began reading law in the office of a friend, Mr. Edward Marsh, who was a member of the New Work Bar (Maverick 29; Brown 32). Shortly after this, Henry Raymond became Horace

Greeley's assistant, but Raymond had considered his employment with Greeley merely an apprenticeship, a step toward a legal or ministerial career. When Raymond wrote his friend, Marsh, to ask which vocation to pursue, Marsh persuaded Raymond not to enter law or the ministry but to stay in journalism because

> ‘the press is used far less than it should be by public-spirited and enlightened men for dissipating the fogs of error which so often obscure the popular mind. In a word, we need public men devoted to the public interest and capable of guiding the public mind in the right way to right ends’ (Fackler 374).

Finally, of the journalists with legal training, there are those who entered journalism while serving as legal counsel for a newspaper or were sought by people in journalism because of their legal expertise. Evan Howell, Robert Vann, and Robert Salant entered journalism after serving as legal counsel in either print or broadcast journalism.

Evan Howell was the son of a well-known Atlanta judge and was, himself, a prominent attorney. While being retained as an attorney for the Atlantic Constitution, he entered the journalism field. Edward Y. Clarke, who as editor had purchased a half-interest in the paper, became weary of his work and sold his share of the paper to Howell. It was at this same time that Howell became editor-in-chief (Eberhard 177).

While at Western University, Robert Vann became a regular contributor to the university's newspaper the Courant and was selected as its editor-in-chief. Robert Vann later gave up his journalistic aspirations when he decided to attend law school. After passing the bar, Vann set up practice but within his first year he became associated with the Pittsburgh Courier. He was originally sought for his legal knowledge when the owners of the Courier approached him to draw up papers of incorporation for the group. However, Vann was appointed treasurer and soon after was offered the editorship (Snorgrass 713).

Robert Salant, the only son of a lawyer, initially became interested in journalism when he served as the editor of his high school's newspaper, the Exonian. He later attended law school at Harvard, and following graduation he joined the law firm of Rosenman, Goldmark, Colin, and Kaye, which represented CBS. Salant represented CBS in the legal battle with RCA over compatible color television. He first joined CBS as a vice president and then later became a member of the CBS Editorial Board. In 1960 Salant was appointed chairman of the CBS News Executive Committee (Robards 622).

Roswell Smith was first approached to enter journalism because of his legal expertise. Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, an author and journalist, and Charles Scribner proposed to introduce a new publication, Scribner's Monthly. Scribner would back the enterprise, and Holland would edit the publication. When Holland suggested they seek the services of Roswell Smith, Scribner agreed that "the magazine could succeed with the lawyer's acumen" (Farrar 274). Roswell Smith was hired as the business manager; he first got involved by selecting the publication's printer, and then he began soliciting advertising.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that legal training has had a considerable influence on American journalism was the basis for the author's research. However, after analyzing the data, the author discovered that there is no quantitative data to support the hypothesis. There was not one journalist who indicated how his legal training had influenced his journalism skills, and only Josephus Daniels was known to believe that his legal training would actually help him in journalism (Dickey 83).

The author concludes, however, in spite of the fact that no empirical evidence exists to support the hypothesis, that these journalists did use their legal training in their journalism careers. Noah Webster is one such example. Noah Wester was unable to establish a profitable legal practice, but he made a significant legal contribution to journalism--better copyright laws. Previously, the state copyright laws were very independent of one another and none made provisions for the protection of literary products. It was largely through his efforts that copyright laws were changed (Shoemaker 20).

The author submits that Noah Wester's legal training did influence journalism through his legal fight for better copyright laws; other journalists also used their legal training in journalism, or at least helped to incorporate some characteristics of the legal profession, like advocacy, into the field of journalism. In fact, Scott W. Cameron indicated he believes that any journalist exposed to the law would not only bring advocacy to their profession but other qualities which characterize law, like a "toughness of mental processes," the knack for separating fact from opinion, and a refined ability to analyze and evaluate.

Even though in this study the author was unable to locate a journalist who had specifically indicated how his legal training had influenced his journalism, legal educators believe "that most definitely legal training would have an impact on a journalist," and the mere fact that specifics cannot be identified does not reduce the validity of such a claim (Cameron). Therefore, with approximately 25 percent of all the journalists in this study having been exposed to law, it seems fair to assume that journalism has in some way been shaped by law. However, to avoid mere speculation concerning the specific ways in which law has influenced journalism, additional research must be conducted.

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Figure I

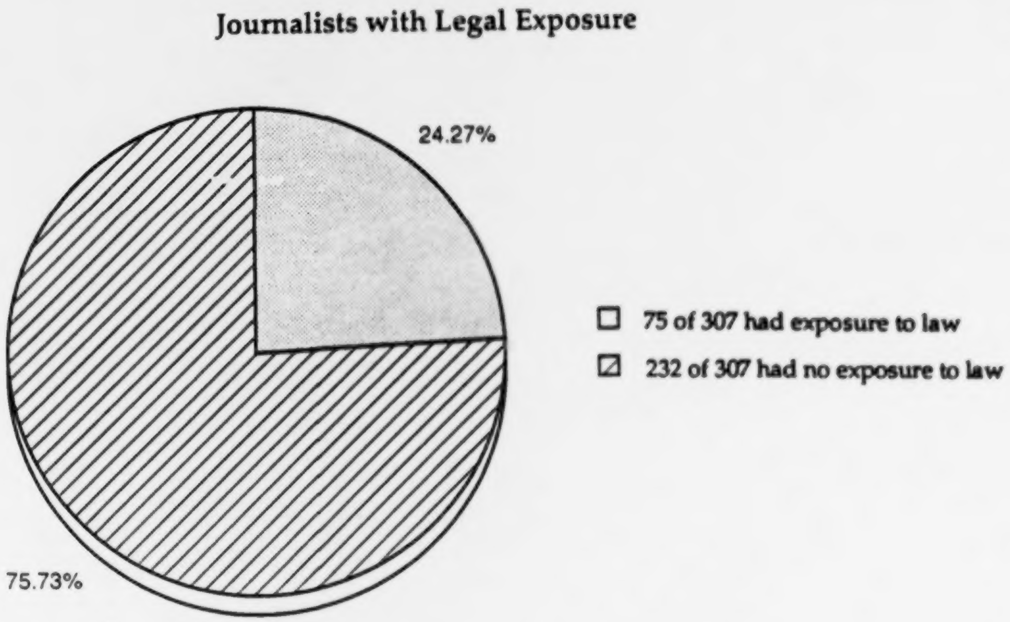


Figure II

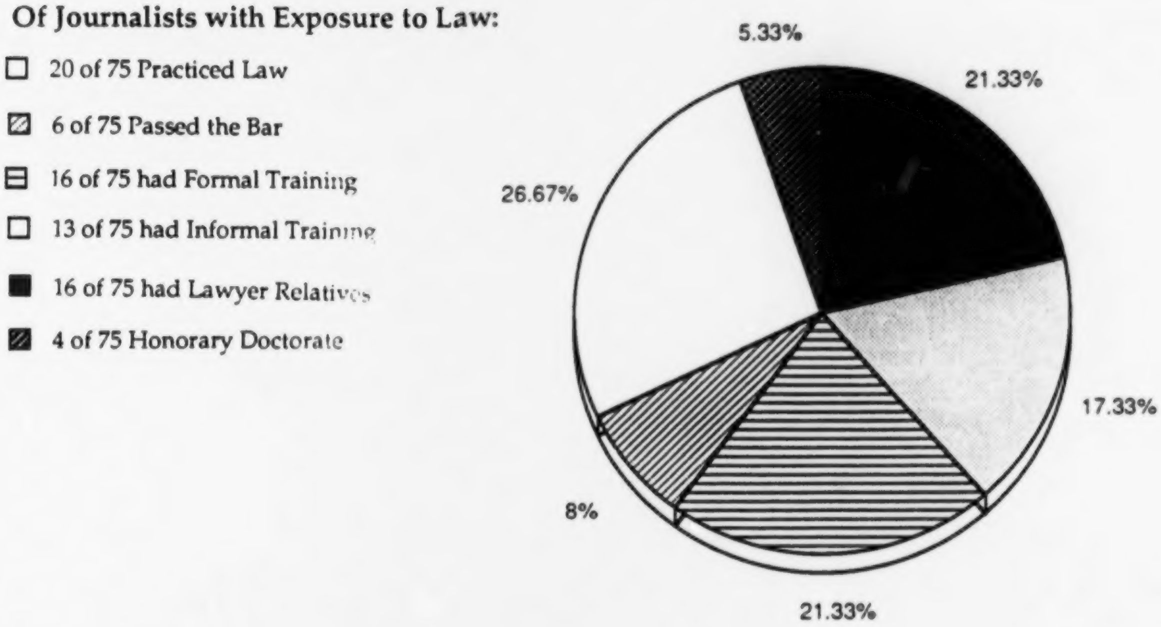


Figure III

Journalists Who Practiced Law:

- Albert Taylor Bledsoe
- John A. Cockerill
- George Rex Graham
- Duff Green
- Washington Irving
- John S. Knight
- Hugh Swinton Legare
- Alfred H. Lewis
- James Russell Lowell
- John R. McLean
- Joseph Medill
- Theodore W. Noyes
- George D. Prentice
- Joseph Pulitzer
- Roswell Smith
- John Reuben Thompson
- Robert L. Vann
- Noah Webster (2)
- George Wisner

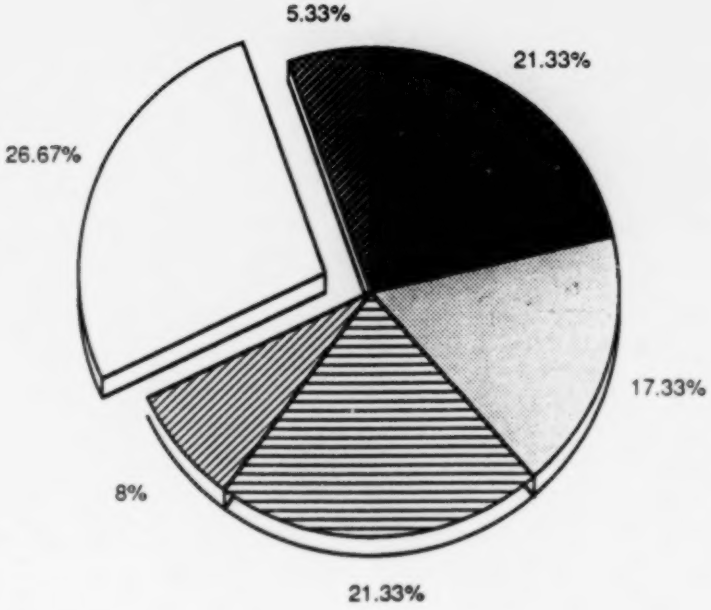


Figure IV

Journalists Who Passed the Bar but Never Practiced Law:

- Josephus Daniels
- James Hall
- William Gilmore Simms
- John Stuart Skinner
- Albion W. Tourgee
- Daniel K. Whitaker

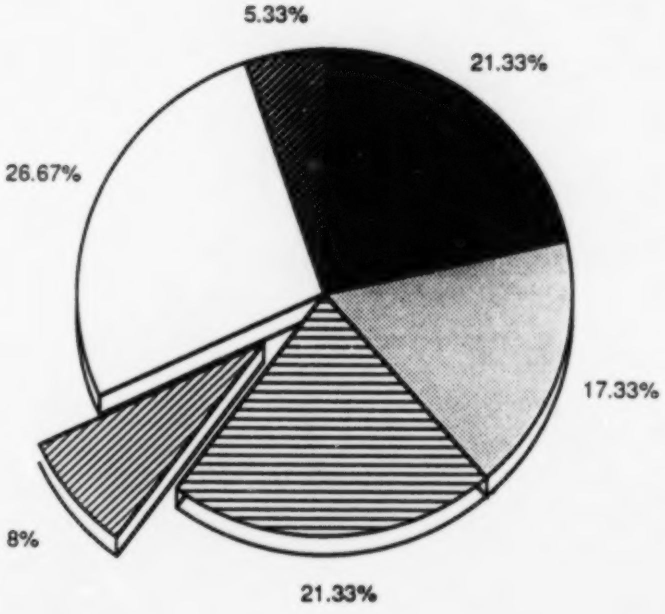


Figure V

Journalists with Formal Legal Training:

Willis J. Abbot
Robert S. Abbott
Francis Fisher Browne
William Cullen Bryant
Cassius Marcellus Clay
Joseph Dennie (2)
Charles H. Grady
Henry Woodfin Grady
Henry William Herbert
Evan Howell
John Inman
Max Lerner
Robert R. McCormick
Oswald Ottendorfer
Charles Jacobs Peterson

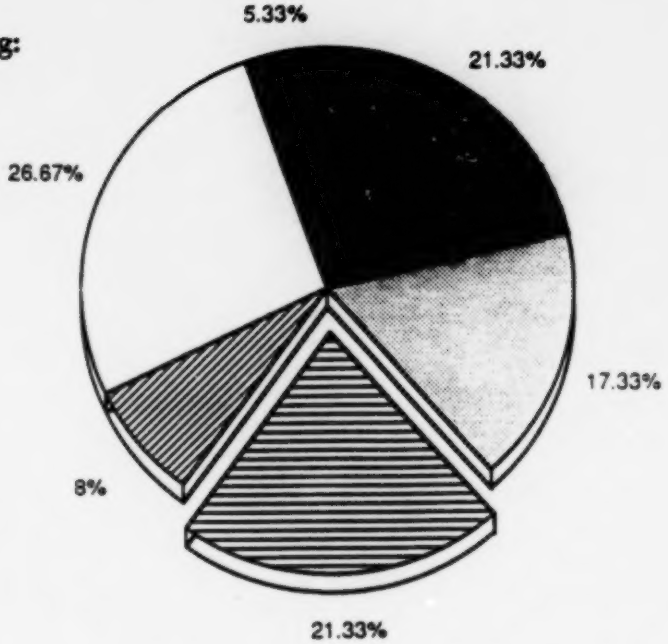


Figure VI

Journalists with Informal Legal Training:

Frank L. Cobb
Irvin S. Cobb
Elizabeth Cochrane
William Conant Church
John M. Daniel
Murat Halstead
William Gibbes Hunt
Ralph McGill
William V. McKean
Edgar Wilson Nye
Henry Raymond (2)
George Wilkes

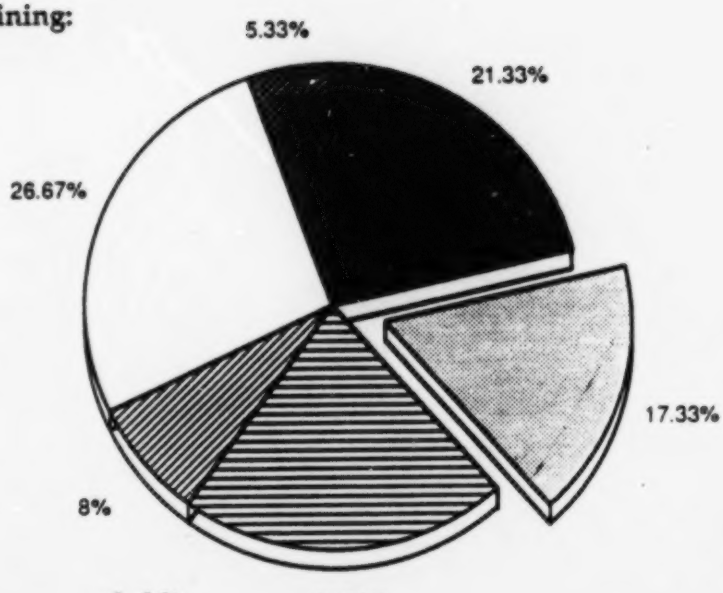


Figure VII

Journalists with Lawyer Relatives:

Carr Van Anda
Amelia Bloomer
Arthur Brisbane
William Henry Chamberlin
Kent Cooper
Richard Harding Davis
Eugene Field
Morrill Goddard
William Goddard
Clark Howell, Sr.
William Trotter Porter
Helen Roger Reid
Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin
Adela Rogers St. Johns
Henry Villard
Ida B. Wells-Barnett

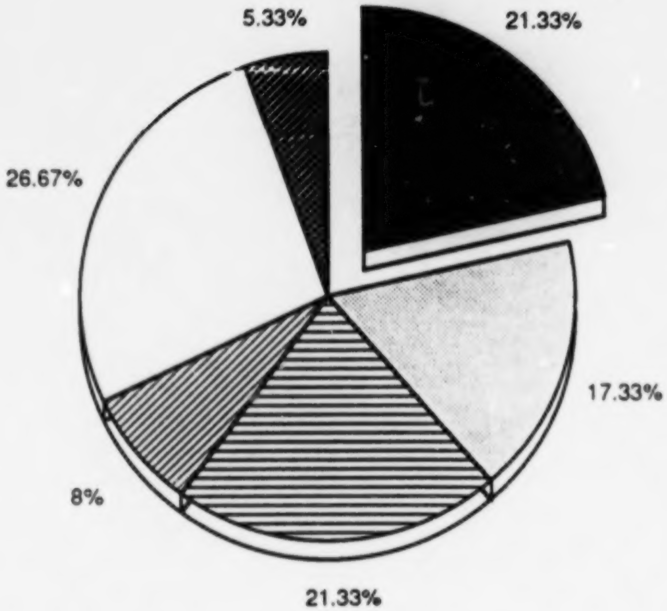
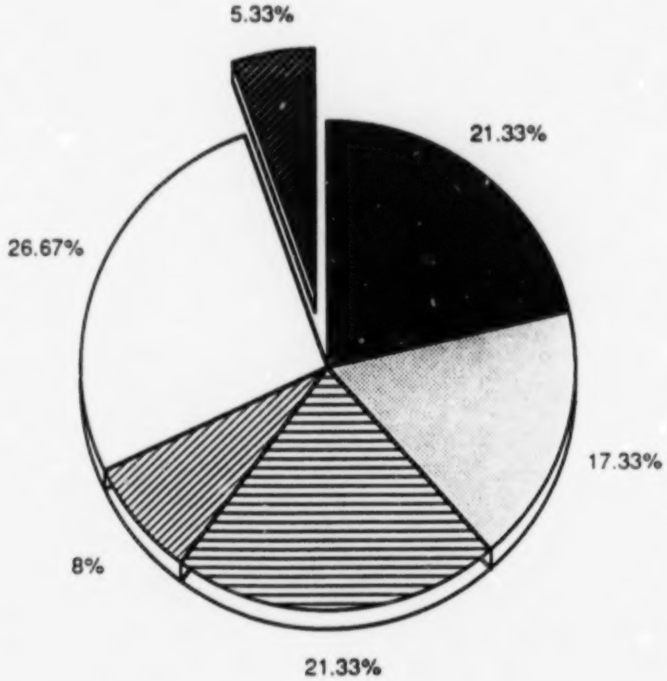


Figure VIII

Journalists Who Received an Honorary Doctorate of Law:

Benjamin Franklin
Joseph Pulitzer, Jr.
Ernie Pyle
Edward I. Sears



The *New-England Courant*:

Voice of Anglicanism

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THE *NEW-ENGLAND COURANT*: VOICE OF ANGLICANISM

by Wm. David Sloan

Sunday, August 6, in the year of 1721 had been a difficult Sabbath day for Cotton Mather. After delivering a sermon an hour and a half in length to his congregation at Boston's North Church, he spent the hot afternoon visiting members in their homes. Already, several had contracted smallpox, and others were in continual fear that they would fall victim also. He had become the target himself of other townspeople outraged that he had encouraged a new and dangerous procedure of deliberately "inoculating" patients with the disease. Returning home after his church's evening service, he closed the door to his bedroom and, as was his nightly custom, prayed at length. Before going to bed, he took out his diary and wrote in the light of the room's oil lamp. The entry exhibited the fervency that had shown up more and more frequently of late:

> It is the Hour and Power of Darkness on this miserable Town; and I need an uncommon assistance from Above, that I may not miscarry by any froward or angry Impatience, or fall into any of the common Iniquities, of Lying, and Railing and Malice: or be weary of well-doing and of overcoming Evil with Good.[1]

On that same Sunday, two other Boston residents, following services at the town's lone Anglican church, visited the shop of James Franklin, a struggling young printer, to read the proofs of essays they had written for the first issue of their new newspaper, planned for publication the next day. One essay lampooned Mather and his fellow Puritan clergy, and the second attacked them for their ignorance in advocating inoculation.

The *New-England Courant* began publication on August 7, 1721, in the midst of the controversy over inoculation. Many historians have spoken of it as America's "first free newspaper." The roots of the paper's founding, however, reached back into religious skirmishing in Boston in the seventeenth century; and the combat from which it resulted began in earnest in 1719. The religious controversies on which the *Courant* was founded originated even earlier and may be found in the efforts of dissident Protestants to break away from the Anglican Church and the concomitant Anglican attempts to force dissidents to submit to the Church.

Media historians normally have explained the birth of the *Courant* as a result of Enlightenment attempts by printer-editor James Franklin and a group of "young Boston wits" to liberate society from the suffocating intellectual control which religious orthodoxy held. In actuality, the *Courant* was founded not to free Bostonians from religious control, but as part of a long-term effort to destroy Puritan popularity and establish in its stead the Church of England as the official church in Massachusetts Bay and the other British colonies in North America. The exact time that the *Courant* was started — at the height of an acrimonious public debate over smallpox inoculation — was chosen because the Puritan clergy's support of an unproven and apparently dangerous medical procedure seemed to the *Courant's* founders to offer an ideal, although irrelevant, issue on which the clergy could be popularly attacked. Although inoculation was a side issue, it was particularly important to one of the two prime founders of the *Courant*, a leading medical doctor who was miffed that the clergy would advocate inoculation without his approval.

The key factor in the *Courant's* founding was aggressive Anglicanism. The key figures were an ardent Anglican controversialist and the egotistical physician, who shared the Anglican faith of his co-founder. To understand the founding of the *Courant*, one must focus on the religious contention between Anglicanism and Puritanism and especially on the aggressive role of John Checkley in the controversy.[2] James Franklin, the printer and historians' hero, was, although an

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[1] August 6, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1724* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1912), part II, pp. 636-637.

[2] Several historians have noticed that a number of writers for the *Courant* were Anglicans, but none has

Anglican himself, little more than a bystander. Even later, when he became more prominent in the operations of the *Courant*, he never assumed the role of liberator.

Throughout the history of colonial Massachusetts, religion played a key, perhaps even the central role. One of the most distinctive features of the Puritan-Anglican struggle was the issue of the freedom of the individual believer and the local congregation versus the authority of the church. In that debate, Puritans' efforts were aimed at establishing local autonomy, while the Church of England aimed its energies at exerting its control. Massachusetts Puritans had managed to keep their religious freedom by aggressively opposing the efforts of the Church of England and the English monarchy, which for most of the seventeenth century worked in partnership with the Church, to establish Episcopacy in the colony. Media historians traditionally have mistakenly claimed that it was the Puritans who attempted to repress independent thinking. In reality, the Puritans' efforts helped assure both political and religious independence in Massachusetts. In defending their religious freedom, Puritans, it is true, did attack Anglicanism energetically, but still they permitted the Anglicans and members of other minority churches to practice their faith. Ostracism of Anglicans was founded on the unpopularity of the Anglican faith with the general public rather than on official sanction. Anglicans' efforts, on the other hand, were aimed at officially establishing the Church of England and displacing Puritanism. Within this framework, then, the *New-England Courant*, an Anglican spokesman, was founded, not to advocate freedom of ideas, but as part of an effort to set up the Church of England in Massachusetts Bay as the officially established church and to restrict other faiths.

RELIGIOUS CURRENTS BEHIND THE *COURANT*

Because the founding of the *Courant* was tied so tightly to the religious debate, it is impossible to understand the *Courant* without reference to the contentions between Anglicanism and Puritanism as they provided a background to events in 1721.[3] "Puritanism" was not a single Christian sect, but instead was comprised of adherents of various Protestant persuasions. Whether Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Anabaptist, or another belief, however, Puritans believed that the Anglican Church held on to too many of the abominable practices of the Roman Catholic Church. A church under the authority of a monarch, as the Church of England was, who appointed its bishop was little better than a church under a pope. Until the ascension of Charles I to the throne of England, Puritans held hope that the Church of England could be cleansed. Charles also wished to reform Anglican practices but in an Episcopal, rather than a Presbyterian or Congregational, direction.[4] Puritans then began to migrate to the New World because their cause appeared to be dead in the old. Residence in the colonies did not in the British crown's mind, however, free one from the authority of the Church of England. Charles and the Anglican monarchs who followed him were

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noted the extensiveness of the Anglican ties or explored the ramifications of that fact.

[3] The following discussion of the religious background draws primarily on these works: Sanford H. Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America: A History* (New York: Macmillan, 1902); Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924); Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1896); George Hodges, "The Episcopalians," and John Winthrop Platner, "The Congregationalists," in *The Religious History of New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917); George Francis Marlowe, *Churches of Old New England: Their Architecture and Their Architects, Their Pastors and Their People* (New York: Macmillan, 1947); Richard Niehbuhr, "The Idea of Covenant and American Democracy," *Church History* 23 (1954): 126-135; Susan M. Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740*; Darrett B. Rutman, *American Puritanism: Faith and Practice* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970); Darrett B. Rutman, "The Mirror of Puritan Authority," 149-167 in George A. Bilias, *Law and Authority in Colonial America: Selected Essays* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1965); Clifford K. Shipton, "The Locus of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts," 136-48 in Bilias; Clifford K. Shipton, "A Plea for Puritanism," *American Historical Review* 40 (April 1935): 460-467; Edmund P. Slafter, *John Checkley: or Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay*, 2 vols. (Boston: Prince Society, 1897); Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (Christian Literature Co., 1895); John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

[4] Episcopalianism placed church authority in bishops, Presbyterianism in ministers or elders, and Congregationalism in the church's membership.

as religiously zealous as their Puritan adversaries, and they were energetic in promoting the Church in their colonies. In the colonies, the conflict between the motives of the Puritan settlers and the aims of the Church of England was inevitable.

The chief purpose of the Puritans in migrating to America was religious. Observing later on the founding of the Bay Colony, the Rev. Increase Mather, one of the main characters in the *New-England Courant* episode in 1721, wrote that "nor was it that, but what concerns worship and discipline, that caused our fathers to come into this wilderness."[5] They were especially eager to remove themselves as far as possible from Anglicanism, thus gaining the ability to take eclesiastical and spiritual authority from the central church heirarchy, to emphasize the freedom of the individual believer, and to place church matters in the hands of the local autonomous congregation. The Congregational churches that the Puritans set up were marked, according to religion historian John Winthrop Platner, by six main structural features: "[1] the independence of the local congregation, [2] its constitution under a covenant, [3] the absence of an episcopate, [4] the conception of the ministry as exercising delegated powers of a purely spiritual nature, [5] reliance upon the sole authority of Scripture, and [6] the separation of church and state."[6] Although the stereotype of the Puritans dominant among media historians has been that of repressive religious bigots, the Puritans really were ahead of their time in their views on religious toleration. Cotton Mather, for example, wrote in 1710, "No man may be Persecuted, because he is Conscienciously not of the same Religious Opinion, with those that are uppermost."[7]

Anglican thinking held to diametrically opposed policy. All authority rested ultimately with the British monarch, exercised through the crown-appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Some American colonies, such as Virginia, were set up with Anglicanism established as the official church. The efforts of the Church to establish its authority over the colonies outside its control began in earnest with the appointment of William Laud as Archbishop in 1633. He worked energetically to quell dissent at home and impose conformity abroad, not shrinking from official sanction, fines, imprisonment, and physical punishment of non-conformers. To prevent the continued increase of separatism in the colonies, he issued orders in February 1633 that all ships bound for the colonies "cause the Prayers contayned in the Booke of Common Prayers established in the Church of England, to be sayde dayly at the usuall howers for morning and Evening Prayers, and that they cause all persons aboard theise said Shippes to be present at the same."[8] He recognized that dissenting ministers provided a foundation for the separatist movement and therefore took steps to prohibit their emigration to the colonies. Ministers, a contemporary Anglican wrote, because of their increasing numbers "began to carry a face of danger. For how unsafe must it be thought both to Church and State, to suffer such a Constant Recepticle of discontented, dangerous, and schismatical Persons, to grow up so fast."[9] In 1634, therefore, the Star Chamber prohibited the escape from England "of persons ill-affected to the religion established in the Church of England,...of ministers who are inconformable to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church" and ordered "all that had already gone forth...forthwith to be remanded back."[10] That same year, Laud received a commission from the king ordering that — since ministers "take liberty to nourish their factions and schismatical humours, to the hindrance of the good conformity and unity of the Church" — "no clergyman [be suffered] to transport himself without a testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London."[11] Likewise, Charles issued a commission to change the government of New England and transfer it to Laud and "two or three" bishops of his choosing, with power to establish "the clergy government for the cure of souls, tithes, to appoint magistrates, levy fines, inflict penalties, and send home the refractory to England." Punishment could include "imprisonments or other restraints, or...loss of life or members, according as the quality of the offence shall require."[12] As a means of setting up Anglicanism in New England, Laud next made plans to send a bishop there with enforcement from a military force,[13] but the outbreak of civil war in England forced him to abandon the plan.

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[5] Quoted in Platner, "The Congregationalists," p. 7.

[6] Platner, *ibid*.

[7] Cotton Mather, *Theopolis Americana* (Boston, 1692), p. 29. For the most forceful presentation of this nature of Puritanism, see Shipton, "A Plea for Puritanism." The differences between Puritans and Anglicans are made clear in Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism....*

[8] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* VIII: 137.

[9] *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 347, quoted in Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, p. 21.

[10] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* VIII: 135.

[11] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, quoted in Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, p. 21.

Puritans in Massachusetts successfully resisted the intrusions of Anglicanism throughout most of the seventeenth century owing largely to popular opposition and to the talents of the Puritan clergy. In those colonies where Anglicanism was established, it worked toward conformity in both religion and politics and a joining of the two. In New Hampshire, for example, Governor Cranfield wrote to England to propose "that it will be absolutely necessary to admit no person into any place of trust, but such as will take the sacrament and are conformable to the rites of the Church of England." Opposing clergy and views had to be quieted. "I utterly despair," Cranfield added, "of any true duty and obedience paid to his Majesty until their college be suppressed and their ministers silenced."[14]

The Bay Colony, and particularly the town of Boston, had remained safe from Anglican threats until the colony was made a royal province and on May 16, 1686, a ship brought Joseph Dudley to be president of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. Arriving on the same passage was the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe to conduct Episcopal services in Boston — the equivalent, Puritans believed, of worshipping Baal. Judge Samuel Sewell recorded in his diary for May 30, 1686: "My son reads to me...the 26th of Isaiah...and we sing the 141st psalm, both exceedingly suited to the day. Wherein there is to be Worship according to the Church of England as 'tis called, in the Town-House by Countenance of Authority."[15] The former passage reads in part, "Let favor be showed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness; in the land of uprightness will he deal unjustly, and will not behold the majesty of the Lord" (v. 10). Psalm 141 has a similar tone: "Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practice wicked works with men that work iniquity....Keep me from the snare which they have laid for me....Let the wicked fall into their own nets, whilst that I withal escape" (vv. 4, 9, 10). Expressing the Puritans' common abhorrence of Anglicanism, Cotton Mather wrote in his diary in November of that year: "The Common-Prayer-Worship [is] being sett up in this Country. I would procure and assist the Publication of a Discourse written by my Father, that shall enlighten the rising Generation, in the Unlawfulness of that Worship, and antidote them against Apostasy from the Principles of our First Settlement."[16] The Puritan leaders refused the Anglican churchmen's request that one of the local church buildings be made available for Anglican services, but the issue was soon forced with the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros as royal governor of New England.

Andros brought with him a communication from the king that "[w]e do here will and require and command that...all persons...especially [those] as shall be conformable to the rites of the Church of England be particularly countenanced and encouraged."[17] The new governor immediately demanded that Anglicans be allowed the use of the Old South Church building, but the Puritan ministers agreed that "we could not with a good conscience consent that our Meeting Houses should be made use of for the Common Prayer Worship."[18] The ministers did agree to permit the use of the Town House for Anglican services. Andros, however, would not willingly submit to this affront to his faith, and in March, on Good Friday, of the following year commanded that the South Church be opened. On Easter Sunday, the Anglicans began their service at 11 a.m., informing the church's Puritan congregation that it should expect to have the building at 1:30 p.m. The Anglican service did not conclude, however, until after 2 p.m.; and the diarist Sewell recorded, "'Twas a sad sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, because they had not entrance into the house."[19] Finally, the two sides reached an understanding by which the Puritans offered one of their churches for use of Anglican services on Sunday afternoons.

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[12] *Hutchinson's History* I, p. 503.

[13] *Cyprianus Anglicus* p. 347, quoted in Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, p. 21.

[14] Quoted in Hodges, "The Episcopalians," p. 213.

[15] Samuel Sewell, *The Diary of Samuel Sewell*, ed. M.H. Thomas (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1973), p. 116.

[16] November 11, 1686, *Diary of Cotton Mather* I, pp. 133-134.

[17] *Massachusetts Historical Collections* III: 7 and 148.

[18] December 21, 1686, *Diary of Samuel Sewell*, p. 128.

Shortly thereafter, the Anglicans began construction of their own building, King's Chapel, "the Church of England as by law established." Inspired by that success, Edmund Randolph, one of the royal commissioners and a devout Anglican, proposed to King James that the costs of supporting the church and its minister be paid by the Puritan congregations. "I humbly represent to your Grace," he wrote, "that the three meeting houses [Puritan churches] in Boston might pay twenty shillings a week a piece, out of their contributions, towards defraying our Church charges." The Anglicans acted, on this occasion as on others, as if being allowed to exist conferred on them special status. That attitude, however, was one which the Puritans unremittingly opposed. In Randolph's earlier proposal to the Puritans themselves, they had rebuffed him. "They tell us," he explained to the king, "those that hire him [the Anglican minister] must maintain him, as they maintain their own minister, by contributions."[20]

With the founding of King's Chapel, its members at once became energetic in the attempts to establish Anglicanism in Massachusetts. They were at the forefront of efforts to tie church matters to political ones and thus gain success. One of their goals was to get a governor appointed who was an adherent of the Church of England and therefore would assist in the establishment efforts of the church. As one of the first official acts of King's Chapel, its minister, the Rev. Samuel Myles, and wardens petitioned the crown, who "has bin graciously pleased to have particular regard to the religion of the Church of England," to appoint a new colonial governor and council so that the Church might "grow up and flourish, and bring fruites of religion and loyalty, to the honour of Almighty God, and the promotion and increase of Your Majesty...."[21] A similar petition the church's minsters, wardens, and vestry wrote in 1713 indicated their continuing interest in getting an Anglican governor. "I am humbly of the opinion," stated the Rev. Myles, "the church here, and also in other parts of this province, would increase much more under a Governor that was a constant communicant thereof, from whom we might reasonbably expect all requisite protection and encouragement."[22]

The efforts to establish the Church of England continued as a central feature to the time of the founding of the *New-England Courant* and even beyond. Until the American Revolution severed British control of the colonies, the view of Anglicans was that the colonies were possessions of Britain and were therefore subject to that government in all matters civil and religious. Since the Church of England was the official church of the Britain, it therefore automatically was the established church in Britain's colonies.[23]

JOHN CHECKLEY AND THE RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

The most forceful advocate for Anglican establishment in Massachusetts was John Checkley. Since Anglicans were greatly outnumbered in Boston and their presumptions and practices held in contempt by most of the populace, they had found it necessary to act with a degree of prudence. With the advent of Checkley, however, they gained a zealous spokesman who did not shrink from controversy. Indeed, he relished it. He was Boston's leading voice for the most extreme positions of the High Church party in the Anglican Church. That faction believed that the Anglican Church was the only legitimate church and that there was no salvation outside of it. Staunchly Tory in politics, Checkley and fellow High Churchers tended to tie religion to state and to be non-jurors, that is, supporters of the Stuarts' claims to the British throne. Checkley himself still held to the view that kings ruled by divine right and subjects must be passively obedient — although that notion had been outdated in England since the Glorious Revolution. Although Checkley was politically High Tory, he is best described as, first, a devout Christian, then an ardent Anglican, and a fiery controversialist. While founded on faith in Jesus Christ as Savior, his New England theology embraced three primary tenants: first, Anglicanism was the only valid faith; second, the Church of England was automatically, by British law, the established church in the American colonies; and, third, all other churches, especially Puritan ones, were invalid, their clergy illegitimate, and salvation obtained through them worthless. While some other Boston Anglicans, if not most, held to the same precepts, they were circumspect in making their beliefs known. Checkley, in contrast, declared them so fiercely that he not only alienated his Puritan opponents but also created contention within King's Chapel. It was Checkley who, seeking a forum from which he could attack Puritanism, served as the primary force behind the founding of the *New-England Courant*.

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[19] March 29, 1687, *ibid.*, p. 136.

[20] Hutchinson, *Collections*, p. 549, quoted in Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, p. 231.

[21] Quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 102.

[22] "Humble Address to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 1st Series, VII: 217.

[23] For an elaboration of this view, see Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, pp. 69 and 127.

Lest Checkley be thought merely a lover of fights, the critic should first examine his commitment to his faith. One example may suffice to illustrate it. On Christmas Eve of 1720, Checkley wrote a fellow member of King's Chapel of his excitement at the approaching "Commemoration of the Nativity of our great & glorious Redeemer." The "swelling Exultations of my Soul," he said "...are raised by looking forward to the coming Day," for Christmas celebrated the "astonishing Love of the Deity, in sending his only-begotten into the World, for the redemption of lost Mankind." His awareness of such a wonderful act led him to exult, "I glow, I burn, my heart strikes quick, and every Pulse beats Joy!"[24] When one recognizes Checkley's fervor, one is not surprised to find that Checkley was ready to engage in arguing his beliefs despite overwhelming odds or that one of his dreams was to enter the Anglican ministry, a dream he finally was able to attain late in life after many years of futile effort.

Born in Boston in 1680 and educated there, he went abroad and studied at the University of Oxford. After further travels on the Continent, he returned to Boston in 1710, went into the bookselling and apothecary businesses, and developed an avid interest in theological subjects. It was his trenchant efforts to argue his views, which meant the views of the Church of England, that played the largest role in the controversies that engulfed Boston in the 1720s. He began the polemics in 1719 when he published a tract by the non-juror Charles Leslie,[25] with the implication that Puritans were as misguided in their religious faith as were deists. The following year a tract Checkley wrote attacking the Calvinist doctrine of Puritans evoked a biting response from Thomas Walter, nephew of Cotton Mather.[26] Both of Checkley's publications declared the authority of bishops, an assertion that was anathema to Congregationalists. It was just a year later that he helped found the *New-England Courant* to attack the leading Puritan clergy. After he published a scandalous personal attack on Walter in the third issue of the *Courant*, his associates on the newspaper and in King's Chapel persuaded him to sever his ties with the publication.

He continued, however, his assault on Puritanism. In 1723 and 1724 he published tracts stating the arguments for the episcopacy's authority over dioceses. The episcopate had originated with Christ's apostles, he argued, and the Church of England's bishops could be traced in an unbroken line back to them. Since the dissenters from the Church of England, the Puritans, could not claim such a succession of their clergy, they were "Carnal Libertines" and Christianity's enemies.[27] He followed those publications with "A Discourse concerning Episcopacy," an essay written by Leslie with additions by Checkley, in which he asserted that only sacraments which were administered by proper bishops were of any legitimacy — that any Puritan parent having a child baptized by the Puritan clergy was "guilty of the blood of [the] child." Furthermore, he claimed, sacraments, ordinances, and baptisms administered by anyone else — the reference being to dissenting clergy, specifically Boston's Puritan clergy — were a "Sacrilege, and Rebellion against Christ." Clergy who had not been ordinated by proper bishopic authority acted as a "vile Prostitution" of the true priesthood of Christ. They "outdid the wickedness of [the Jews] in persecuting" the apostles. "[E]very Tag, Rag, and Long-tail call themselves [Christ's] Ambassadors...by a call from the People!" he railed. "Good God! — Good God! — How has the Priesthood been vilify'd of late!"[28] He continued this line of argument in other pamphlets published in 1724 and in a published speech in which he claimed that "the Church of England, and NO OTHER, is established" in New England.[29]

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[24] Checkley to John Read, December 24, 1720, in Slafter, *John Checkley* II, p. 147.

[25] "The Religion of Jesus Christ the only True Religion; or, A Short and Easie METHOD with the DEISTS, Wherein the Certainty Of The Christian Religion Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from FOUR RULES, which are Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be...." Boston: Printed by Thomas Fleet, 1719.

[26] Checkley's composition was "Choice Dialogues Between A Godly Minister and an Honest Country Man Concerning Election and Predestination." Walter replied with "A Choice Dialogue Between John Faustus, a Conjurer, and Jack Tory His Friend....By a Young Strippling." Boston: 1720.

[27] "Modest Proof of the Order & Government Settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church." Boston: 1723. "A Defence of...A Modest Proof." Boston: 1724.

Checkley's arguments naturally angered Puritans, but they were so strident that they created dissension in his own church. A High Church faction coalesced around Checkley; and, although small in number, its aggressive members dominated the affairs of King's Chapel for awhile.[30] It was this faction that served as the original group of writers for the *New-England Courant*. Anglican leaders generally, however, considered Checkley's vituperative style damaging to the interests of the Church. That style, coupled with his maneuvering to control affairs of King's Chapel, provoked a strong reaction, and several leading figures who originally sided with him eventually became his adversaries. The Rev. Henry Harris, assistant rector of King's Chapel, complained to Bishop Gibson that the High Church faction "under color of advancing religion have given it a wound which can't easily be healed, and taken the most effectual method to prevent the growth of the Church in these parts of the World....[Its adherents] have fomented divisions and propagated their seditious principles among the inhabitants." Of that faction, Harris declared, no one was "so egregiously pervert[ed] as one John Checkley." Harris described Checkley as "distempered...factious...turbulent... scurrilous."[31]

The opposition to Checkley coming from fellow parishioners did not, however, match that from his Puritan targets. Anglican presumptuousness had annoyed the Puritan populace ever since the appearance of Gov. Andros and King's Chapel in Boston. Thus, one finds continual contention between the Boston Anglicans and their neighbors. It was manifested in such incidents as the breaking of windows in King's Chapel, although whether the culprits were angry Puritans or mischievous boys never was determined.[32] The first two decades of the eighteenth century saw a

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[28] Appendix to Charles Leslie, "A Short and Easie Method..." (8th ed.). Boston and London: 1723.

[29] "A Modest Proof of the Order and Govenment settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church," "A DISCOURSE Shewing Who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ," and "The Speech of Mr. John Checkley upon his Tryal at Boston, in New England, for publishing the Short and Easy Method with the Deists, etc." London: 1730. Both pamphlets are quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 295-296. "Speech" is reprinted in Slafter, *John Checkley* II, pp. 31-34.

[30] Dr. William Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, February 13, 1728, and March 18, 1728, in *Massachusetts Historical Collections* II: 179 and 182.

[31] Harris to Gibson, June 22, 1724, *Church Documents of Massachusetts*, p. 156.

[32] Members of the church filed a complaint with the British government, but Puritan leaders laughed at it. A pamphlet making light of the complaint is worth reading in its entirety: "We had almost slipt the *Notice* of a *Bawl or two* these Libellers make about *Damnifying their Church* (as they call it), and Obstructing their *Minister in his Office*. As to their *Church*, all the mischeifs done is the breaking of a few Quarels of glass by idle Boys, who if discover'd had been chastiz'd by their own Parents; but the late School-Master of *Charles-Town* is of opinion that the *whole Country* must be *Lashed* for it. In the mean time do not these (for a few Quarels) Love to be *picking of Quarels* think ye?

"But to give a fuller account of this *Tragical tale* thus carried to *White-Hall*: They have built their Chapel in a Publick burying-place, next adjoining to a great Free Schooll, where the Boyes (having gotten to play) may some by *Accident*, some in *Frolick*, and some perhaps in *Revenge* for disturbing their Relations' Graves by the Foundation of that building, have broken a few Quarels of the Windows (and how should the contrary be imagined possible)? Other Meeting-Houses in the Toun, neer which the Children use to play, we suppose are at more than twice the charge yearly for Repairing their Windows; nor ever yet have any one of those unruly Children been continual struggle between Anglican efforts to establish the Church of England as the official church and Puritan efforts to restrain the Anglicans. Nothing Anglicans had done, however, did as much as Checkley's attacks to provoke Puritan response.

Especially vigilant in opposing the Anglican maneuvers were the Puritan patriarch Increase Mather and his son Cotton. Aiding them were a number of leading theologians. Possessing the best minds in the colonies and the most articulate pens, the Mathers were more than equal to the task of combatting their Anglican adversaries. By 1721 the contention between the two camps had taken on the nature of a personal feud between Cotton Mather and Checkley. Because Mather's ministry to his church members and his prolific writing production required so much time, he gave most of his attention to affairs other than Checkley's attacks. The latter was so aggressive, however, that he came to Mather's notice from time to time. In his diary in March of 1721, for example, Mather referred apparently to Checkley's writing when he wrote of "those cursed Pamphlets and Libels, wherewith some wicked Men, are endeavoring to Poison the Countrey."[33] Handicapped by the fact that Mather had a large following among a Boston populace in which fewer than a fifth adhered to the Anglican faith, Checkley in 1721 resorted to attacks based on an issue unrelated to Anglican-Puritan theological differences. Taking advantage of his opponent's unpopular stand on inoculation for smallpox, Checkley shifted his assault.

The heated relations between the Mathers and Boston Anglicans reached back to the time of the founding of King's Chapel. The Mathers joined the other Puritan ministers in refusing the use of one of their church buildings for Anglican services; and Edmund Randolph, the royal commissioner and Anglican advocate, had Increase Mather arrested in 1688 for his writing opposing Randolph. The following year, after Anglicans had built their own church, the elder Mather published a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Discourse Concerning the Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship, and the Laying the hand on, and Kissing the Booke in Swearing." Anglicans called it "a most scandalous Pamphlet";[34] and clergy, including the Archbishop of Dublin, responded with tracts attacking the pamphlet and its author. The Rev. Henry Harris, assistant minister of King's Chapel and one of the handful of men who played a key role in the early life of the *New-England Courant*, published the archbishop's work in Boston, adding a preface of his own which, written in a superior tone, included personal insults of Mather.[35] Mather for his part referred to Anglican writings in such terms as "Hoeresies and Blasphemies...Revilings and Slanderings of the Ministers of the Churches of Christ."[36]

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discovered or complained of. Would not these people deserve here to be called Old Boyes, for so highly resenting Boyes-Play? What! must not a Boy in *New-England* throw a stone or a Ball amiss but the *King* shall hear of it?...Suppose we now His Majesty in Council...: there he is Exactly considering the several profound Methods that must be taken to unite *England*, Settle *Scotland*, Reduce *Ireland*, preserve *Holland*, Assist *Savoy*, content *Sweden and Denmark*, rescue the *Empire*, and subdue *France*..., and so render all *Europe* quiet and happy, — when suddenly His Majesty is told there is a matter of *greater Importance* than all these that calls for His Majesties most weighty and Royall consideration; for that some of his Loyal Subjects are come 1,000 Leagues about their business, and that they have brought an Address, — which may be this: —

"'*May it please Your Majesty*, — We, Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, knowing well that you are managing glorious undertakings against the Enemies of the English *Nation* in General, and of the *Church* of England in particular, thought it needful to Represent to Your Majesty that there is a number of *Boston Boyes* who, having got loose from the *Tyranny* of their School, have *Routously, Riotously, and with force of Armes* (that is to say), with *Balls* and *Stones*, Vilently Assaulted our Church Windows to our unaccountable damage, and to the *Terror of Your Majesties Leige People*. We therefore implore Your Majesties utmost Assistance against these Unlucky Boyes.'" From *A Vindication*, in *Andros Tracts* II, p. 63, quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 109.

[33] March 2, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 605. Also see entry of March 3.

[34] John Palmer, "An Impartial Account of the State of New England...." London: 1690. *Andros Tracts* I, p. 53; quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 106-107.

[35] The Rt. Rev. William King, "A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of GOD." 1694; reprinted by the Rev. Harris in Boston, Nov. 7, 1712. Harris' preface claimed that the Church of England was "the most perfect Church on Earth" and was the "National Established Church," and that the "Dissenters alone are blame-worthy."

[36] Increase Mather, "Some Remarks on George Keith's sermon, Showing that his pretended good rules in

Although Increase Mather was the Puritans' patriarch, because of his advancing age his son Cotton had taken up the leader's mantle by the time Checkley initiated the controversy of the 1720s. Like his father, Cotton Mather had been a long-time defender against Anglican intrusions into Boston and thus became the primary target of Anglican attacks. His view was fully and cogently expressed in his massive history of the colonies, *Magnalia Christiani Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England....* He argued that the main purpose of the settlers of the Bay Colony was to escape Anglicanism. "Let all mankind know," he wrote, "that we came into the *wilderness*, because we would worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that *common prayer*, and those unwarrantable *ceremonies*, with which the land of our fore fathers' sepulchres has been defiled; we came hither because we would have our posterity settled under the pure and full *dispensations* of the gospel, defended by rulers that should be of our selves."[37] With that fundamental belief contrasted to the Anglican presumption that the Church of England was automatically the established church in the colonies, it was inevitable that a clash would occur. In a tract offering advice to dissenters from the Church of England, Mather claimed that a faction in the church, "a certain *Hectoring* sort of People," was attempting to strap a "Yoke of *Slavery*" upon the British empire.[38] Men who "pretend[ed] to be" the Church of England, he said, were using the "*Devices of Satan*" against true Christianity as part of their effort to eliminate all churches but their own.[39] Mather wrote in his diary that his purpose in publishing the tract was to preserve people "from the Error of the Wicked."[40] During the decade prior to the founding of the *New-England Courant*, references to the malign influence of Anglicanism punctuated Mather's public writing and sermons, his private correspondence, and his diary entries.[41]

With time, as Anglicans intensified their efforts in Boston and Massachusetts, the theological contention between the leading advocates of the Puritan and Anglican causes took on a highly personalized flavor. It embodied the antagonism that sometimes exists when adversaries are in close proximity and continually confront one another as a result. One of Mather's main arguments was that the Church of England sent its ministers to Massachusetts, where Anglicans comprised a miniscule part of the population, to convert Puritans and dispatched its proselytizers to subvert the ignorant among the unchurched. The Church's representatives were of such mean character, Mather claimed, "such ignorant, vicious, debauched wretches, and such finished rakes,"[42] that they did nothing more than attract other "wretched and sorry people" to their group.[43] "In this large town of Boston, which contains near 10,000," he wrote in 1712, "there are as I suppose not near half of 1000 who profess themselves of the Church of England, tho' that church has all the encouragements imaginable from our Governors given to it; yet it increases not, except from strangers coming in amongst us....But...in two or three country-towns, a small number of people,

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Divinity are not built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets." Boston: 1702.

[37] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christiani Americana* (Hartford, 1820), Vol. I, book iii, pt. vii, p. 219.

[38] Mather, "A Letter of Advice to the Churches of the Noncomformists in the English Nation...." London: 1700.

[39] Mather, "The Old Paths Restored...." Boston: T. Green, 1711.

[40] April 4, 1711, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 60.

[41] For typical statements, see entries for July 15, 1711, pp. 88-89; Jan. 13, 1712, p. 151; July 12, 1713, p. 221; October 5, 1713, p. 247; October 31, 1716, pp. 415-416; in *Diary of Cotton Mather*. For private correspondence, see Mather to John Stirling, May 17, 1714, pp. 149-150; Mather to Robert Wodrow, September 17, 1715, pp. 187-188; Mather to Anthony William Boehm, August 6, 1716, pp. 215-216; Mather to Jeremiah Dummer, January 19, 1719, pp. 271-272; Mather to John Nicols. April 18, 1720, pp. 303-304; Mather to Nathaniel Cotton, July 10, 1721, pp. 344-345; in Kenneth Silverman, comp., *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Mather to Wait Winthrop, November 19, 1712, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 276. For sermons and publications, see Mather, "Grace Defended. A Censure on the Ungodliness, By which the Glorious Grace of God is too commonly Abused. A Sermon preached Dec. 25, 1712." Boston: 1712; Mather, "Some Remarks on a Pretended Answer To a Discourse concerning the Common-Prayer *Worship*." Boston: 1712; Mather, "*Advice from the Watchtower*, In a Testimony against Evil Customes..." Boston: 1713; Mather, "*Icono-clastes*. An Essay upon the Idolatry too often committed under the Profession of the most Reformed Christianity...." Boston: 1717.

[42] Mather to John Stirling, September 16, 1715, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 186.

[43] Mather to Robert Wodrow, September 17, 1715, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 327.

scarce the proportion of seven families to a thousand, and many of these having a vicious character as well as a factious intention, have grown vexatious....They declare for the Church of England, tho' they know no more of it than the religion of Confucius."[44] The instigators of the problem, Mather believed, were the leaders of Boston's King's Chapel. "Our High Church here," he wrote to a London official of the Church of England, "...seek all advantages to disturb us, and if in a town of two or three hundred well-instructed [Christian] families, they can find half a score of an abject and vicious character to declare for the Church of England, tho' they understand nothing of the matter, they...send...for missionaries, whose business here cannot be for the propagation of religion, but the molestation of it."[45]

THE ARRIVAL OF SMALLPOX IN BOSTON

Mathers' Anglican adversaries never had been reluctant to attack in similar language, but the unpopularity of their theological views with the general populace had prevented them from making much headway in their efforts to advance the Church of England. Having observed the futility of their efforts in Boston for a quarter century, Mather in 1714 declared prophetically that "[t]he only hope of...[the Church of England] prevailing here, is in a prospect of that church's arising into a capacity to persecute."[46] He was primarily concerned about attempts to make the Church of England the state-established church and thereby gain the power to subjugate others. A medical plague that entered Boston in 1721, however, gave the High Church faction in King's Chapel an opportunity to attack Mather and his fellow Puritan clergymen in a way that, on the surface, at least, seemed unrelated to Anglicanism.

Although John Checkley and other members of the faction used religious arguments for part of their assault, their arguments were not framed in Anglican theology, and for the most part they never rose above personalized invective; their intent, though, was to persecute Mather and the Puritan clergy in order to destroy their popularity as part of a strategy to establish the Anglican Church on the ruins of Puritanism. Having failed to carry the theological argument in their earlier encounters, they now would resort to vilification based on the Puritan clergymen's unpopular advocacy of inoculation for smallpox.[47] To provide a forum for their attacks, Boston's High Church advocates would found a newspaper of their own.

In the early 1700s in Europe and America, more deaths resulted from smallpox than from any other cause. Boston itself had experienced six outbreaks before 1721.[48] The epidemic of 1677-1678 took the lives of 700 residents, 12 per cent of the town's population, including thirty on the single grim day of September 30, 1677. "Never was it such a time in Boston," wrote Cotton Mather, who witnessed the disease's effects as he worked around-the-clock to help the afflicted. "...[B]urying-places never filled so fast...[We] have the bells tolling for burials on a Sabbath-day morning by sunrise,...7 buried on a Sabbath-day night after meeting...coffins crossing each other as they have been carried in the street...I know not how many corpses following each other close at the heels....To attempt a Bill of Mortality, and number the very spires of grass in a Burying Place seem to have a parity of difficulty and in accomplishment."[49] During the epidemic of 1702, three of Mather's four children contracted the "dreadful Disease," although none of them died. As the year drew to a close, he recorded in his diary that "[m]ore than fourscore people were in this black Month of December, carried from this Town to their long Home."[50]

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[44] Mather to John Maxwell, August 12, 1712, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 103.

[45] Mather to Dr. John Edwards, December 10, 1712, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, pp. 128-129. For other, similar examples of Mather's criticism of the Anglican missionary efforts, see his letter to Anthony William Boehm, August 6, 1716, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, pp. 215-216; his letter to Henry Walrond, October 31, 1716, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, pp. 415-417; and his tract, "The Stone cut out of the Mountain...." Boston: 1716.

[46] Mather to John Stirling, May 17, 1714, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 150.

[47] Personal attack was not new to Mather. Anglican government officials in 1690, for example, had claimed that he was associated with the "scandalous" newspaper *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick*; and Mather wrote his uncle that "they that had a mind to make me odious, have attained their end." Mather to John Cotton, October 17, 1690, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, pp. 27-28.

[48] They had occurred in 1644, 1649, 1665-1666, 1677-1678, 1689-1690, and 1702.

[49] Mather to John Cotton, November 1678, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 7.

Boston had a nineteen-year respite until its next epidemic, the longest period in the town's history without a visitation of smallpox. In the interim, a new generation of children had been born, and they had borne their own children, resulting in a loss of immunity that comes from exposure to the disease. Many citizens had forgotten the early signs of the disease and lived with a false sense of safety. Town officials had allowed quarantining measures to grow lax. Conditions were right for the most fatal epidemic Boston was to face.[51]

On April 22, 1721, the H.M.S. *Seahorse* arrived from the West Indies, with one of its company carrying smallpox. With regulations for quarantining incoming ships not enforced, members of the crew took lodging in town and moved freely among residents. The town's Selectmen (the equivalent of today's city council) learned of the first smallpox case on May 8 and began taking steps to halt the disease's spread.[52] "The grievous calamity...is now entered the town," Cotton Mather recorded somberly in his diary.[53] Preventive measures, however, were inadequate; and by June the disease was out of control. As it spread, wrote Mather, it held "mankind in a continual bondage, through the fear of being once in their life seized with it, yea, of having their life extinguished by it....The apprehensions of dying a very terrible death, after a burning for many days, in as painful, as loathsome a malady, or at best of having many weary nights roll away under the uneasy circumstances of loins filled with a loathsome disease, and recovering with boils, and scars, and wounds, not quickly to be forgotten, hold the children of men in the terrors of death."[54] Hundreds of Boston's residents fled the town, and of those who remained virtually every household experienced the contagion. Judge Samuel Sewell noted the death of an old servant: "About 7 m. Susan falls asleep....She had served me and my family faithfully fifteen years, and now I hope she is gon to Heavenly Rest."[55] By September the number of deaths was so great that the Selectmen limited the length of time that funeral bells could toll.[56] By the time it had receded the following year, 6,000 of Boston's 10,500 residents had contracted the disease, and more than 800 had died.[57]

COTTON MATHER AND INOCULATION

Eighteen days after Boston's authorities learned of the presence of smallpox, Cotton Mather wrote in his diary of the method of inoculation against smallpox, which "has never been used in America, nor indeed in [England]," and that he planned to "procure a Consult of our Physicians, and lay the matter before them."[58] It was a bold and unpopular plan. It was bold not only because the results of inoculation were uncertain, but precisely because it was unpopular. Injecting a disease into a healthy person seemed to most laymen, and to most physicians also, not only a ludicrous strategy but hazardous as well. The dangers of contracting smallpox through normal means were great enough; so why should one subject oneself or another to the disease intentionally? Despite the certain popular opposition, Mather determined to proceed with having the method tested. He was motivated perhaps equally by his inquisitiveness about science and medicine and by his concern to "do good" for people.[59] How intense the public reaction would be, however, he had not foreseen; and he had not expected that his Anglican adversaries would take advantage of his goodwill to unleash a withering and prolonged attack on him.

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[50] December 27, 1702, *Diary of Cotton Mather* I, p. 451.

[51] Increase Mather had recognized the signs in 1720 and warned those who would listen. See Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, p. 346.

[52] *Selectmen's Minutes*, 1721, p. 81, in Reginald H. Fitz, "Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator, and the Epidemic of Smallpox in Boston in 1721," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* V. 22, no. 247 (September 1911): 316; and *Boston Record Commissioners*, viii, p. 154 in *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 618n.

[53] Mather, May 26, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 620.

[54] Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 360.

[55] November 30, 1721, *The Diary of Samuel Sewell*, p. 985.

[56] Massachusetts *Acts and Resolves*, x, 105, in John B. Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy in Boston: 1721-1722." *New England Quarterly* V. 25, no. 4 (December 1952): 489-506.

[57] Numerous studies of the 1721 smallpox epidemic are available. I have relied on Fitz, "Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator..."; Otho T. Beall Jr. and Richard H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1954); Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy..."; Thomas H. Brown, "The African Connection: Cotton Mather and the Boston Smallpox Epidemic of 1721-1722," *Journal of the American Medical Association* V. 260, no. 15 (October 21, 1988): 2247-2249; Dennis Don Melchert, "Experimenting on the Neighbors: Inoculation of Smallpox in Boston in the Context of Eighteenth-Century Medicine," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1973; Arthur Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin: The Shaping of Genius: The Boston Years* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977); Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *A Destroying Angel: The Conquest of Smallpox in Colonial Boston* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974); Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984); and Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, pp. 347-348.

Eager to learn all he could about inoculation,[60] he borrowed from a recent arrival in Boston, Dr. William Douglass, the town's only physician with a degree in medicine, volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London containing articles about the procedure. Douglass, one of the *New-England Courant's* founders, would use the fact that the volumes were his as one reason for condemning Mather. Convinced that inoculation was the only means of preventing the fatal spread of smallpox, on June 6, 1721 — only four weeks after the presence of smallpox was discovered — he prepared an address to Boston's medical practitioners telling them the substance of what he had learned, drawing largely on the *Philosophical Transactions* volumes borrowed from Douglass.[61] Although he had a firmer grasp on scientific and medical principles than anyone else in the American colonies,[62] he was ever cautious about appearing to intrude into the physicians' field or to discredit them. He therefore "humbly advise[d]" that the procedure be tried "under the management of a Skilful PHYSICIAN" and "request[ed] that you would meet for a Consultation upon this Occasion, and so deliberate upon it, that whoever first begin the practice (if you Approve it should be begun at all) may have the countenance of his worthy Brethren to fortify him in it."[63] Despite Mather's plea, only one of the ten physicians, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, a neighbor of Mather, agreed to try the procedure.[64]

In his efforts to help his neighbors during the 1721 smallpox epidemic, one sees Mather at his best doing that to which he most devoted his life: helping other people.[65] Although his critics among historians have emphasized his egotism, the one feature that is most pervasive in his private writings is (next to serving God) his desire to serve others in their trouble despite his own hardships. As the illnesses and deaths from smallpox spread, he went about even more intensively trying to serve his townspeople, certain that his "Life is likely to be extremely in danger" because of constant exposure to "the horrid Venom of the sick Chambers."[66] Faced with the death of his own children once they contracted the disease,[67] he nevertheless continued to minister unceasingly to the needs of others.[68] During, for example, the ten days prior to the date of the first issue of the *New-England Courant*, a time when public opprobrium was reaching a crescendo, Mather recorded these private thoughts in his diary:

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[58] May 26, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, pp. 620-621.

[59] This aspect of Mather's efforts during the smallpox epidemic is considered in detail in Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather...*, pp. 93-117.

[60] Inoculation had been used in parts of Africa and Asia for centuries; but it was a new concept in England and the colonies. The first recorded inoculation in England took place in April 1721. Cotton Mather had first heard of it from the African slave, Onesimus, his parishioners had presented to him as a gift in 1706. Later having read the English physician John Woodward's account of the practice of inoculation, he recounted Onesimus' description of it and confided to Dr. Woodward in 1716 that "if I should live to see the Small-pox again enter into our City, I would immediately procure a Consult of our Physicians, to Introduce a Practice which may be of so very happy a Tendency." (Mather to Woodward, July 12, 1716, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 214.) For detailed accounts of the history of inoculation, see Arnold C. Klebs, "The Historic Evolution of Variolation," *Bulletin* of Johns Hopkins Hospital 14 (1913): 70ff; Charles G. Cumston, "Historical Notes on Smallpox and Inoculation," *Annals of Medical History* 6 (1924): 469ff; and Raymond P. Stearns and George Pasti, Jr., "Remarks upon the Introduction of Inoculation for Smallpox in England," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 14 (1950): 106ff. For the influence of African practices on Mather's knowledge of inoculation, see Brown, "The African Connection...."

[61] See *Diary of Cotton Mather*, p. 624n. Mather noted in his diary for the date of June 23, 1721, that he was "entreating" the physicians to consider inoculation. *Ibid.*, p. 628.

[62] Mather's *The Christian Philosopher*, published in 1721, was the first general book on science to be written in America. His book *The Angel of Bethesda* was the only comprehensive medical work written in America during the entire colonial period.

[63] In George Lyman Kittredge, "Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* 44 (1912): 434.

[64] Boylston's role in the crisis is recounted in Fitz, "Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator...." Boston's other physicians were Drs. Archibald, Clark, Cutler, Dalhonde, Davis, Perkins, Williams, White, Douglass, Gibbins, and Steward. Among this group, the final three were members of King's Chapel and instrumental in the founding of the *New-England Courant*.

> [July 27] ...The monstrous and crying Wickedness of this Town...and the vile Abuse which I do myself particularly suffer from it, for nothing but my instructing our base Physicians, how to save many precious Lives....
>
> [July 29] Several afflicted People to be visited and comforted....
>
> [July 30] What should be my Conduct under the Outrages and Obloquies of a Town which Satan has taken a most wonderful Possession of? I must exceedingly rejoice in my Conformity, to my admirable SAVIOR: who was thus, and worse requited, when He saved their Lives, and came to save their Souls. I must mightily take heed unto my own Spirit, and watch against all Ebullitions of Wrath, lest being provoked, I speak unadvisedly....I must give myself unto prayer, and wait with Patience, in a full Perswasion, that my glorious Lord...will anon give me to see my Opportunities to do good strangely multiplied.
>
> [July 31] I must...give to our People, a Sermon that shall most plainly and fully Instruct them, how to gett into such Terms with Heaven, that they may be Ready, for whatever Events the Contagion that spreads in the Town may bring upon them.
>
> [August 1; is distressed that public outrage might prevent his son's inoculation.]
>
> [August 4] ...Especially, to cry unto Heaven for the Lives of my Children....
>
> [August 5] The Condition of my pious Barber, and his Family, calls for my particular Consideration.[69]

What surprised Mather was the ferocity of the public's and the physicians' response.

WILLIAM DOUGLASS AND INOCULATION

Dr. Boylston first inoculated three members of his own household and, after a few days observing them, seven more people. This being the first attempt at immunology in the English-speaking world, word quickly spread around the little town of Boston, already in hysteria because of the pervasive danger of smallpox, that Boylston was deliberately spreading the disease. Furthermore, the people believed that to use a man-made procedure to cure a calamity imposed by Providence violated God's sovereignty. The populace was furious at both Boylston and Mather. "The Destroyer," Mather recorded in his diary for July 16, "being enraged at the Proposal of any Thing, that may rescue the Lives of our poor People from him, has taken a strange Possession of the People on this Occasion. They rave, they rail, they blaspheme; they talk not only like Ideots but also like Franticks, And not only the Physician who began the Experiment, but I also am an Object of their Fury; their furious Obloquies and Invectives."[70] While Mather confided that for him personally

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[65] Mather's entreaties for people to do good are stated most fully in his *Bonifacius (Essays Upon the Good)* (published in 1710), and one can find evidence of his compassion and charity toward others throughout his diary: for example, August 7, 1711; January 5, 1712; July 7, 1713; November 3 and 9, 1716; February 12, 1718; May 20, 24, and 29, 1721; and June 21 and 24, 1721.

[66] May 28, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, p. 621.

[67] See, for example, entry of July 7, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 630.

[68] See "The Paths of the Destroyer," chapter 12, in Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*.

[69] *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, pp. 634-637.

[70] July 16, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 632.

"[m]y Conformity to my SAVIOUR in this Thing, fills me with Joy unspeakable,"[71] he was concerned that the public's opposition would "prevent my saving the Lives of my Two Children, from the Smallpox in the Way of Transplantation"[72] and would endanger the lives of others.[73] There is no record of exactly what proportion of the population was opposed to his effort, but the strength of the opposition suggests that it was a substantial majority.[74]

On July 17 Boylston published an account of the success of his inoculations in the Boston *Gazette*; and four days later the town's Selectmen called an informal meeting of the physicians, at which Dr. Lawrence Dalhonde, a visiting physician from France, presented a description of the harmful effects of inoculation he had witnessed on soldiers in Europe.[75] The physicians then drew up a series of resolutions against inoculation,[76] and the Selectmen issued an order forbidding any more inoculations.[77] With publication of Dalhonde's remarks, opposition to the inoculation efforts was, apparently, widespread among Boston's residents. One of Boylston's children later said that "his family trembled at his leaving his house" and that he feared "that he should be sacrificed to popular fury."[78]

The public case against inoculation was led by the town's physicians,[79] with William Douglass at the forefront,[80] and it gained government support through the Selectmen. Whether the opponents and the proponents divided along religious lines is unclear,[81] but it is perhaps notable that none of the seven most visible advocates of inoculation was Anglican.[82] A number of the prominent opponents, including Douglass, were members of King's Chapel.[83]

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[71] *Ibid.*

[72] July 18, 1721, *ibid.*

[73] See, for example, entry of August 24, 1721, in *ibid.*, p. 639.

[74] The fact that only about 240 of Boston's 10,500 residents received inoculation implies that few people sought it. The fullest accounts of the controversy surrounding inoculation may be found in Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy...," Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather...*, Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin: The Shaping of Genius*, and Melchert, "Experimenting on the Neighbors."

[75] Boston *News-Letter*, July 24, 1721. The Selectmen ignored Boylston's invitation to them to visit some of his patients to observe the effects of inoculation.

[76] Quoted in Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, p. 342. Also footnote 197 in Melchert, "Experimenting on the Neighbors," p. 150.

[77] There is a poignant contrast between the increasing opposition to inoculation and the concerns that Cotton Mather expressed in his diary on the same day the Selectmen met. Mather wrote: "There being several Societies of young People...lying obnoxious to the Danger of the Small-Pox, I would, as far as I can find Strength for it, visit them, and entertain them with Prayers and Sermons that shall be suitable for them. This Day, I sett apart, for Supplications to the glorious Lord, especially on the behalf of my two Children, that are exposed unto the Dangers of the Small-Pox, and that I may obtain Blessings for all my Children. I also implore the Compassion of Heaven to a Town already under dreadful Judgments, but ripening for more. And that GOD would requite me Good for all the Cursing of a People that have Satan filling of them; and yett appear to rescue and increase my Opportunities to do good, which the great Adversary is now making an hellish Assault upon." July 21, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 633.

[78] Rev. Peter Thacher, who in 1721 was an associate pastor of the New North Church, provided this account in *Massachusetts Magazine* 1 (1789): 778.

[79] Providing an account of the inoculation controversy, Mather in 1722 wrote that "our unhappy physicians...poisoned and bewitched our people with a blind rage." Mather to Hans Sloane, March 10, 1722, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 347. "And how far," he wrote another correspondent, "they can comfort themselves in seeing above a thousand of their neighbors within a few months killed before their eyes, when they knew a method that in ordinary way would have saved them, they know better than I!" Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 21, 1723, Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 365. In a similar tone he wrote in 1724 that the physicians played "the part of butchers or tools for the destroyer to our perishing people, and with envious and horrid insinuations infuriated the world against [Boylston]." Mather to Dr. James Jurin, December 15, 1724, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 402.

[80] Bernard Fäy, a historian favorable to the *New-England Courant* faction, writes that "A club was founded, 'The Society of Physicians Anti-Inoculator,' with Checkley as president and Hall's Tavern as a general meeting place. The members of this club swore, above all, to abuse Mather." Bernard Fäy, *Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929). Fäy, however, gives no source for this information, and I have been unable to find any other reference to it.

[81] Later, after the epidemic had abated, Cotton Mather wrote Dr. James Jurin of the Royal Society of London that the opposition had been contrived by a "political or ecclesiastical" party whose main purpose was to discredit

Douglass' opposition was based on several factors.[84] Since his interest in starting up the *New-England Courant* rested on his opposition to inoculation and Mather's advocacy of the procedure, a brief summary of these points is pertinent.

Trained in medicine, he publicly argued first that inoculation was an unsound medical procedure. In his proposal for using inoculation, Mather rested much of his information on the practice in Turkey and Africa. Douglass argued that both were backward and superstitious lands and that, therefore, any practice arising in them was ludicrous. The "communications of [Dr. Emanuel] Timonius and [Jacobus] Pylarinus [Turks who had pioneered in inoculation]," he later wrote, "in England were regarded as Virtuoso-Amusements until April, 1721."[85] Similarly, he ridiculed Mather's reliance on African sources for his information. After Mather and Boylston had published a pamphlet defending inoculation, Douglass responded that their document was "an Army of half a Dozen or half a Score *Africans*, by others call'd Negroe Slaves, who tell us...that it is practised in their own Country. The more blundering and Negroish they tell their Story, it is the more credible says C.M....There is not a Race of Men on Earth more *False Lyars*, &c. Their Accounts of what was done in their Country was never depended upon till now for Arguments sake...*O Rare Farce!*"[86] Douglass shared the accepted medical view that intentional introduction of disease into a healthy person was merely "propagating...infection."[87]

He argued further that inoculation interfered with God's providential working in human affairs. In a letter he wrote for the Boston *News-Letter*, he asked the clergy to explain "how the trusting more the extra groundless *Machinations of Men* [inoculation] than to our Preserver in the ordinary course of Nature, may be consistent with that Devotion and Subjection we owe to the all-wise Providence of GOD Almighty."[88] Students of Douglass' opposition to inoculation have disagreed on his motives behind his religious argument. Some have concluded that he, sharing the views about the nature of God common to the age, honestly believed that the smallpox epidemic was God's work and that people should not attempt to change it. Others have argued that Douglass, having been trained in college, could not possibly have held such a view and that he adopted his religious argument as the line of attack that would be most effective in defeating Mather in the eyes of the public.[89] There being no evidence to contradict his public statement, the first explanation seems most likely, for if one accepts the latter explanation, Douglass is left as a man with so few scruples that he would resort readily to an argument which he himself did not belief in order to gain his end.

Although there is less evidence remaining in the records about a third factor, the record

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the Puritan clergy. "It is with the utmost indignation," he wrote, "that some have sometimes beheld the practise made a mere party business, and a Jacobite, or High-flying party, counting themselves bound in duty to their party to decry it, or perhaps the party disaffected unto such and such persons of public station and merit, under the obligations of a party to decline it." May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 361.

[82] Dr. Boylston was a member of Brattle Street Church, and the others were all clergymen in dissenting Protesting churches. Along with Increase and Cotton Mather, they were Benjamin Colman and his associate pastor William Cooper of Brattle Street Church, Thomas Prince of Old South Church, and John Webb of New North Church.

[83] Philip Cash, "Professionalization of Boston Medicine, 1760-1803," pp. 69-100 in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820* (Boston: 1980), p. 73, states that Boston's small group of physicians was "greatly influenced by such foreign-born doctors as...Douglass" in the early 1700s and that division along religious and political lines (Congregational/Whig vs. Anglican/Tory) was "central to Boston medicine" after the mid-1700s.

[84] Lest it be assumed from Douglass' performance during the inoculation controversy that he had no redeeming qualities, it should be noted that he later was a respected figure in colonial medicine and that he published a number of well-received works in the fields of science, history, and economics.

[85] Quoted in Stearns and Pasti, "Remarks upon the Introduction of Inoculation...," p. 113.

[86] Douglass, "Inoculation of the Small-Pox as practised in Boston...." Boston: 1722.

[87] Boston *News-Letter*, July 17, 1721.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] See, for example, Melchert, "Experimenting on the Neighbors," p. 148.

does appear to indicate that Douglass wanted to gain income from the medical care he provided patients afflicted with smallpox. Benjamin Colman, pastor of Brattle Street Church, later claimed that some physicians opposed inoculation "because it would have saved the Town Thousands of pounds that is now in their pockets."[90] Douglass himself, explaining to a colleague in the medical field why he had not had time to record his medical observations, wrote that he found it "more natural to begin by reducing my smallpox accounts into bills and notes for the improvment of my purse."[91]

Another factor was that Douglass was irritated at Mather for having used information about inoculation from copies of *Philosophical Transactions* borrowed from Douglass and therefore to which Douglass believed he had a proprietary right. He complained about having "lent to a credulous vain Preacher, Mather, Jr., the Philosophical Transactions Nos. 339 and 377 which contain Timonius' and Pylermus' account of Inoculation."[92] After Mather had returned the volumes, Douglass refused to lend them again.

Finally, he was angry at Mather for presuming to offer advice in the field of medicine, Douglass' domain. The fact that Mather had taken precautions to reassure Boston's physicians that he did not wish to trespass into their profession[93] did not ameliorate Douglass' umbrage. That he should have been so offended was unusual since it was standard practice for people other than trained physicians to practice medicine in the 1700s. Douglass, however, was hostile to what he considered mere "empirics" and practitioners with less training than he had.[94] Having received more formal training than Boston's other medical practitioners[95] and seemingly egotistical on the matter, he had a low opinion of other Boston physicians. "[W]e abound with Practitioners," he wrote a British acquaintance in 1721, "though no other graduate than myself....Our American practitioners are so rash and officious that the saying in Ecclesiasticus may with much propriety be applied to them, He that sinneth before his Maker let him fall into the hands of the physician."[96] His sense of superiority to Boston's other physicians is indicated in a letter to the Boston *News-Letter*, signed with the pseudonym "W. Philanthropos," in which he called Dr. Boylston a "Cutter for the Stone," a "quack," "Ignorant," and "unfit" and challenged his professional competence in administering inoculations.[97] He was especially sensitive to what he considered meddling by Mather. In a letter to a medical colleague in England, he referred contemptuously to "a certain credulous Preacher of this place called Mather ... [who] preached up Inoculation."[98]

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[90] Quoted in Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, p. 345.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, Feb. 20, 1722, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th series, II, p. 164. Fitz, Boylston's biographer, states that Douglass "evidently was aggrieved that...a clergyman should borrow his books and select therefrom communications upon a medical subject and recommend them to the consideration of the physicians of Boston without consultation with the owner of the books in question." Fitz, "Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator...," p. 318.

[93] See, for example, Mather's letter in Kittredge, "Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather," p. 434. See also Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather...*, pp. 96-97, for a discussion of Mather's sensitivity on the matter.

[94] See Richard D. Brown, "The Healing Arts in Colonial and Revolutionary Massachusetts: The Context of Scientific Medicine," 35-48 in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820*, p. 41. Brown provides a full discussion of the relationship of medicine and religion. Medicine, he writes, "itself was a Christian profession" (p. 39n). For a similar discussion on this subject, see G.B. Warden, "The Medical Profession in Colonial Boston," pp. 145-158 in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820*. "[D]octoring," observes Warden, "tended to be a part-time sideline of educated or skilled people in other, more socially acceptable, callings, like ministers who took some notice of the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of their flocks" (p. 156).

[95] Douglass was born in 1691 in Gifford, Scotland; studied medicine at Edinburgh, Leyden, and Paris; and settled in Boston in 1718. The fullest account of Douglass is found in G.H. Weaver, "Life and Writings of Wm. Douglass, M.D., 1691-1752," *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History of Chicago* 2 (April 1921): 229-259.

[96] 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections* II, p. 164, quoted in George Francis Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Boston: 1935), pp. 175-176.

[97] Boston *News-Letter*, July 24, 1721. Haughtiness was a trait which hampered Douglass throughout his career. One Massachusetts antiquarian discribed him as "possessing little tact, and it is not surprising that he found himself continually in hot water." Dr. S.A. Green, *Centennial Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society*, 1881, quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 372.

While Douglass opposed inoculation for a variety of reasons, one thing is clear. His interest in helping found the *Courant* as an anti-inoculation mouthpiece had nothing to do with urging a liberalized secularization on Boston society, as historians have been prone to claim was the purpose of the newspaper.

THE PUBLIC DEBATE OVER INOCULATION

It was Douglass' attack on Boylston that exploded the newspaper debate on inoculation.[99] The proponents of inoculation responded to his attack with a letter of their own to the Boston *Gazette*.[100] Written primarily by Benjamin Colman, Boylston's pastor, but signed by inoculation's other five clerical supporters, the letter defended Boylston as a skilled and tender physician, criticized Douglass' conceit, called for more charity than Douglass' letter exhibited, and refuted his religious argument against inoculation. The religious stand has special interest for the media historian, for it reveals that it was not the Puritan clergy who restrained scientific "progress" through their limited theological views but that it was the opponents of inoculation — those same people who helped found the *New-England Courant* — who relied on traditional religious presumptions.[101] The clergy's letter read in part:

> Men of Piety and Learning after much *Serious tho't* have come into an opinion of the Safety of the...method of *Inoculating the Small pox*....Cannot they give into the method or practice without having their *devotion and subjection to the All-wise Providence of God Almighty* call'd in question?...Do we not in the use of all means depend on GOD's *blessing*? and *live* by that alone? And can't a devout heart depend on God in the use of *this* means [i.e., inoculation]...? For, what hand or art of *Man* is there in this Operation more than in *bleeding, blistering* and a Score more things in *Medical use*?[102]

Throughout the following months of the controversy, the clergy would have to resort frequently to defending themselves against arguments that inoculation violated man's requirement to depend on God.[103]

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[98] Douglass to Dr. Alexander Stuart, September 24, 1721, Royal Society, quoted in Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather...*, p. 112. Beall and Shryock make the argument, however, that Mather was more widely read in medicine than Douglass was.

[99] Although most media historians have argued that it was the *New-England Courant* which opened the "crusade" against inoculation, an examination of the already existing newspapers and pamphlets makes it obvious that an acrimonious public debate was already being waged before the *Courant* appeared. For an elaboration of this point, see C. Edward Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," *Journalism History* 7: 1 (1980): 16-19 and 40. It also is clear from entries in Cotton Mather's diary that acrimony existed several weeks before the *Courant* began publication. The *Courant's* writers merely jumped on the bandwagon.

[100] Boston *Gazette*, July 31, 1721. William Brooker had started the *Gazette* in 1719 for the purpose of publishing current prices of goods in Boston, to the displeasure, apparently, of Boston's businessmen. Brooker, a Puritan, gave the job of printing the paper to James Franklin, but after he sold the paper to Philip Musgrave, also a Puritan, the latter in August 1720 transferred the job to another printer. It perhaps is no coincidence that the publisher of the newspaper which carried the arguments of the anti-inoculators, the *News-Letter*, was the Anglican John Campbell, a member of King's Chapel. (Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 173.) Mather's estimation of the *News-Letter* had been considerably less than favorable from its founding in 1704. He referred to it in his correspondence as "thin...filthy and foolish...paltry." (Mather to Stephen Sewall, January 30, 1706, and December 13, 1707; to John Winthrop, December 16, 1707; in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, pp. 70, 76, and 77.) What Campbell's opinion of Cotton Mather is not recorded, and whether it played any role in the *News-Letter's* criticism of him during the inoculation controversy is unknown.

[101] See Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather...*, pp. 104-105, for a brief elaboration of this point.

[102] Boston *Gazette*, July 31, 1721.

[103] See, for example, William Cooper, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, Attempting a Solution to the Scruples & Objections of a Conscientious or Religious Nature, Commonly Made against the New Way of Receiving the Small-Pox*. Boston: 1721.

By the end of July, when the clergymen published their letter supporting Boylston, conditions were ripe for the founding of the *New-England Courant*. The old contention between Anglicans and Puritans had created an atmosphere for religious and personal controversy. The Anglicans' efforts to establish their church as the official one in Massachusetts, manifested in John Checkley's aggressive High-Church efforts since 1719, had provoked a continuing argument with Puritan leaders — but, owing to the overwhelming Puritan sentiment in Boston, an argument the Anglicans could not win on theological grounds. The stand of the Puritan clergy on the inoculation issue handed their adversaries the ideal cause. It was unpopular, and it could be attacked on the exact grounds — violation of man's reliance on God — that was popular with Puritans. As if to give the High Churchmen the final piece they needed, it was not just ordinary Puritans who promoted inoculation; but the leading Puritan figure, Cotton Mather, was its prime advocate. And in that advocacy, he had provoked the professional and personal ire of the Anglican physician William Douglass, who now was determined to attack relentlessly. These forces, some of them generations old and others only a few days, culminated in the summer of 1721. It was exactly one week after the appearance of the clergy's letter that the *Courant* published its first issue.

JOHN CHECKLEY, THE HIGH-CHURCH, AND THE *COURANT*

The *Courant's* operators introduced their newspaper with a statement that its purpose was to oppose inoculation. Media historians, however, have declared that its purpose was to liberate colonial America from the repressiveness of religion. According to this interpretation, publisher James Franklin, upset about losing his job of printer of the Boston *Gazette* a year earlier, gathered around him a group of brilliant young Boston "wits" who, through their interesting writing, served as a voice for a rising tide of popular discontent with the Puritan theocracy and attracted a large following among subscribers. The Puritan clergymen, however, exercising great political power, joined with government authorities and suppressed the *Courant*.

This account has been popular among works on media history, but the problem with it is that it has no evidence to support it. It rests on historical imagination.[104] The available evidence indicates that the history of the *Courant* is virtually opposite to the historians' account.

The standard story grew out of two streams of historical perspective. One was the Progressive school's interpretation of American history which became popular beginning in the 1920s. Progressive historians favored liberalism over conservatism, which they considered as good over bad. In this ideological view of history, they assumed that Puritans were conservative. They "pictured the Puritans," according to one account of American historiography, "as reactionary rather than progressive, authoritarian rather than democratic, bigoted rather than broad-minded, and pious hypocrites rather than sincere and devout religionists."[105] More recently, historians have discarded the Progressives' ideological view and their exceedingly critical depiction of the Puritans.[106] That scholarship has meant little, however, to most media historians. They have continued to mix the Prógressive outlook with a second influence in media historiography. That is a tendency to explain history in terms of professional journalism standards of the historian's own time.[107] According to those standards, freedom of the press is a hallowed concept and anyone who opposes it is a foe of free thinking. Mixing that concern for press freedom with the Progressive view of Puritans as repressive, most media historians began their treatment of the *New-England Courant* with the assumption that Cotton Mather and his fellow clergy opposed freedom of expression and that the newspaper was a pioneer in promoting freedom of the press. Starting with such a presumption, it was unlikely that historians would come to any other explanation of the *Courant* than they did despite the absence of evidence, despite even the fact that the evidence that does exist refutes that explanation.[108] Standing out against most works by media historians is C. Edward Wilson's "The Boston Inoculation Controversy...." Wilson argues that the *Courant* did not begin the crusade against inoculation, as other historians claimed, and that Franklin was timid on the issue of freedom of the press. Despite the evidence Wilson offered in support of his thesis, one finds the traditional view still prevailing in more recent works.[109]

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[104] Even the starting point of media historians, that a Puritan "theocracy" existed in Massachusetts is erroneous. The term "theocracy" denotes a situation in which religion controls a state. In Massachusetts, on the contrary, most governors, who were appointed by the the British crown, were Anglicans and therefore in opposition to the Puritan leaders. An exception was Samuel Shute, governor from 1716 to 1723, the period during which the inoculation controversy occurred. But even he was only nominally Congregationalist. Furthermore, in the inoculation controversy, the opponents of inoculation were identified with the faction that controlled Boston's Selectmanship and the Massachusetts House of Representatives. (See Melchert, "Experimenting on the Neighbors....") Thus, pro-inoculation, the leadership of which consisted of the Puritan clergy, was an attack on the establishment; and the *Courant's* anti-inoculation stand aligned the paper with the government.

Boston in the early 1700s was a diverse society where the Puritan clergy exercised the influence they did, not because of a theocracy but primarily because they were the most respected group. The social historian Darrett Rutman writes that "The political activity in and among the towns suggests that the people of Massachusetts Bay...were not acting within the concept of authority and cohesive, ordered society which...historians have...pronounced to be characteristic of Puritanism and Puritan New England....Nor was authority a pervasive thing, obliging the individual through family, church, and state to sublimate his personal aspirations to the interests of the community as a whole....The people of Massachusetts...were coming to view the elements of authority as being divided rather than united. In particular, they viewed the church and state as distinct entities with well-defined...areas of operation....The same dichotomy between church and state which one finds in the towns may be seen on the commonwealth level." Rutman, "The Mirror of Puritan Authority," pp. 160-161.

If the *Courant* were not founded by James Franklin to liberate Boston society from religious suffocation, as media historians have said, how then was it founded and why?

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[105] Gerald N. Grob and George A. Bilias, Ch. 2, "The Puritans: Bigots or Builders?" in *Interpretations of American History: Patterns and Perspectives* (New York: Free Press, 1967), I, p. 75.

[106] The newer scholarship is exemplified at its best in the work of Darrett Rutman. His study "The Mirror of Puritan Authority" provides a cogent overview of his work. In it, he writes that the traditional historical view of "'Puritanism' would seem to be [the historians'] own creation, a stereotype which, as any intimate view of a 'Puritan' community will show, has little to do with reality" (p. 1). For frontal attacks on the Progressive explanation of Puritanism, one may consult the works of the historian Clifford Shipton. His works, "A Plea for Puritanism" and "The Locus of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts," provide lucid instances of his approach.

[107] James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, in *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1989), call this approach the "Developmental" interpretation.

[108] The traditional interpretation is exhibited in such works as Mark Lipper, "Benjamin Franklin's 'Silence Dogood' as an Eighteenth-Century 'Censor Morum,'" 73-83 in Donovan H. Bond and W. Reynolds McLeod, eds., *Colonial Newsletters to Newspapers* (Morgantown, W.V.: West Virginia University, 1977); James Sappenfield, *A Sweet Instruction: Franklin's Journalism as a Literary Apprenticeship* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), who says, for example, that "James Franklin was fighting a little battle in the long struggle for the freedom of the American press. And he was at least dimly conscious that he was striking a blow for intellectual freedom in New England" (p. 30); Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Viking, 1936), especially p. 19 for reference to the *Courant's* writers as "wits"; Fäy, *Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times*; Perry Miller, "Introduction," 5-9 in *The New-England Courant: A Selection of Certain Issues...* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956); John Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1963), pp. 17-21; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "The Beginning of the Franklins' New-England Courant." *Journalism Bulletin* [*Quarterly*] V. 4, no. 2 (June 1927): 1-5; Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin: The Shaping of Genius*; and John Clyde Oswald, *Printing in the Americas* (New York: 1937). The best — or worst — of this line of scholarship may be found in Howard H. Fogel, "Colonial Theocracy and a Secular Press," *Journalism Quarterly*: 525-532. Fogel claimed that James Franklin played a central role in the effort of the colonial press to win its "freedom from ecclesiastical control." Fogel based his essay, however, on only eight references to sources, only one of which was a primary source — which is the essence of historical research — and it a history of Harvard College with no relevance to the *Courant*. One comes away from the essay (for it cannot be called a research article) with a concern about how such worthless historical "scholarship" could have been published in a communication research journal.

[109] In survey histories, for example, it can be found in Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America* (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1987) and the even more recent J. Herbert Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1990). Among the recent survey books, Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, *Voices of a Nation* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), and Donald Avery's chapter on "The Colonial Press, 1690-1763" in Sloan, Stovall, and Startt, *The Media in America* (Worthington, Ohio: Publishing Horizons, 1989) take a more cautious approach and make no claims for Franklin's advocacy of press freedom.

All available evidence on the first question points to a group of affluent Anglicans, all members of the High-Church party in King's Chapel and headed by the controversialist John Checkley.[110] All possibilities considered, it seems most likely that Checkley originated the idea of starting the *Courant* and approached his fellow churchman William Douglass about it. After they had laid the plans, they then arranged with Franklin to print it and probably recruited their fellow High Churchmen into the enterprise.[111] Their motive appears to have been to have a vehicle which could attack the Puritan leadership on the issue of inoculation, which could be addressed in religious or medical terms, and thereby promote Anglicanism. In attempting to answer the questions of who and why, though, one is confronted with the problem that no one who was involved in the founding of the paper left a record of the affair.[112] Several bodies of material, however, all composed after the *Courant* began publication, offer some clues.

In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin, who was serving as a printing apprentice to his older brother James, recalled:

> My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the New-England Courant. The only one before it was the Boston News-Letter. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America.[113]

Making allowance for Benjamin's faulty memory of events that had occurred some sixty years before he wrote his autobiography,[114] he states accurately that James was the printer of the *Courant*[115] and that friends cautioned him against the undertaking. Unless one assumes that the job of printing indicated editorial control over the printed product, there is no reason to assume that James was either the founder or the director of the newspaper. Indeed, the tradition in both the colonial printing and newspaper businesses was that printers did not produce any writing but simply printed material that other people brought to them. In Boston, for example, both existing newspapers, the *News-Letter* and the *Gazette*, were owned by people other than their printers; and there, as in other towns throughout the colonies, one of the main sources of income of printers, including James Franklin, was tracts and pamphlets they produced and, if they were booksellers also, sometimes sold for the authors.[116] The latter was the case with the *Courant*: "Printed and Sold by J. Franklin at his Printing House," read the announcement on the back page.

Additional evidence that James had no interest in the *Courant* other than printing and selling it is provided by the fact that during the week after the first issue, he printed and sold a broadside — *The Little-Compton Scourge: Or, The Anti-Courant* — the sole purpose of which was to attack the *Courant's* chief author.[117] Some historians, assuming that Franklin was the founder of the

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[110] The fullest research into who founded the *Courant* has been done by Carolyn Garrett Cline ("The Hell-Fire Club: A Study of the Men Who Founded the New England Courant and the Inoculation Dispute They Fathered." Masters thesis, Indiana University, 1976). She concluded that Checkley and Douglass deserve the credit.

[111] Judging from printing arrangements for pamphlets and other publications of the time, the arrangement provided either for Checkley to pay Franklin for the printing or for Franklin to print the *Courant* at his own expense and retain whatever income he could derive through copy sales and advertising. Considering that Franklin continued to print the newspaper after Checkley's departure, it appears likely that the second arrangement was the one he and Checkley entered into.

[112] John Checkley's memoirs, for example, contain no writings between June 21, 1721, and May 2, 1722. No accounts by William Douglass, James Franklin, or other principals have been found.

[113] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography* (New York: Modern Library, 1944), p. 23.

[114] Note his uncertainty about the year in which the newspaper began and his error about the number of papers already existing in Boston — two rather than one — and the number previously published in America — four rather than one.

[115] A fact which can be verified from various other sources.

[116] For a relevant overview of business aspects of the printing trade in Boston during this period, see Cline, "The Hell-Fire Club," pp. 74-80.

[117] This publication was authored by the Rev. Thomas Walter, nephew of Cotton Mather and former con-

Courant, account for his printing the *Anti-Courant* by assuming that he was a promotional genius and knew that the latter publication would stir up more controversy, which would be followed by more sales of the *Courant*.[118] That notion fails to consider that at no other time in Franklin's printing career did he show such business acumen. Otherwise, he probably would not have been the least successful of Boston's printers.[119] It also demonstrates little understanding of colonial printers' approach to job printing, which was to print for any customer and frequently to print arguments of two or more customers on different sides of an issue.[120]

Neither does Benjamin Franklin's statement of the friends' caution provide evidence that James originated the *Courant* undertaking. It is more likely, when one considers the other pieces of evidence, that the Anglican group (probably represented by Checkley) had approached James about printing a newspaper and that James' friends cautioned him about getting involved in such a controversial affair, one that could make him unpopular and that held little financial promise.[121]

A second piece of hard evidence about the founders' purpose for starting the *Courant* is the content of the first issue. The lead article on page one of the two pages was an essay John Checkley wrote introducing himself as the "Author" of the paper and lampooning the Puritan clergy and their inoculation advocacy. He also identified himself directly with the publication.[122] The remainder of the front page was filled with an essay by Dr. Douglass arguing against inoculation, which included personal attacks on Dr. Boylston and the clergy, "Six Gentlemen of Piety and Learning, profoundly ignorant of the Matter."[123] The focus on anti-inoculation was made clear in the August 21 issue, in which Checkley wrote that the "chief design of the *New-England Courant* is to oppose the doubtful and dangerous practice of inoculating the small pox."

The third piece of direct evidence is who opponents believed was running the *Courant* and what their motive was. In his essay, Checkley identified himself by his age, and in a town the size of Boston it was not difficult for the leading citizens to find out the name of the essayist. It was clear that the operators were a High-Church party, composed mainly of physicians but led by Checkley; and the Puritan clergy believed the Anglicans' purpose was to undermine the clergy's support from the populace. The *Courant*, wrote a grandson of Increase Mather, was "written on purpose to destroy the Religion of the Country."[124] The underlying implication of the *Courant's* content was that the Puritan clergy could not be trusted; the underlying aim was to undermine its public support. With its stature eroded, a void might be created which the Anglican church could fill. That a High-Church party existed in King's Chapel was attested to by the assistant rector and by William Douglass, the Anglican physician.[125] Similarly, Cotton Mather identified opposition to inoculation

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fidant of Checkley.

[118] See, for example, Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 254.

[119] Bartholomew Green and Samuel Kneeland handled about 75 per cent of the town's printing trade; and Thomas Fleet, who in 1721 was just building his business, soon became much more prosperous than Franklin. For figures on the printing volume, see Cline, "The Hell-Fire Club," p. 78.

[120] Benjamin Franklin provided the most famous statement of that principle with his essay "An Apology for Printers." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 10, 1731.

[121] It is also possible that some of his friends may have been concerned about the *Courant's* authors attacking the friends' own ministers. That is not unlikely, since most of James' family members were devout Puritans.

[122] He wrote, "This Paper will be published once a Fortnight, and...I [will write in a dull style]."

[123] *New-England Courant*, August 7, 1721. The authorship of articles in the first forty-three issues of the *Courant* is indicated in Benjamin Franklin's marked files.

[124] Mather Byles, Boston *Gazette*, January 8, 1722.

[125] The Rev. Henry Harris referred to it as "the Jacobite party" which wished to control King's Chapel. The members, he wrote sarcastically, "met at a tavern, and...might, for aught I know, proceed from their being intoxicated with the fumes of tobacco and wine." Harris to Bishop Gibson, June 22, 1724, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 290-291. "The high church party...John Checkley's party," Dr. William Douglass later wrote, "being but a few though very noisy," attempted to run church affairs "by a superiority of mob." Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, February 13, 1728, and March 18, 1728, in *Massachusetts Historical Collections* II, p. 179 and 182. Both of these statements were made after Checkley's contentiousness caused a rift among the King's Chapel group. In 1721 he, Douglass, and Harris were on amicable terms, even though the relationship between Checkley and Harris at that time was beginning to show a strain.

with "a Jacobite, or High-flying party."[126] Two weeks following the appearance of the *Courant*, a letter published in the *News-Letter* and signed by "Your Friends and Well Wishers to Our Country and all Good Men" first characterized the *Courant* as "Notorious, Scandalous, full freighted with Nonsense, Unmannerliness, Railery, Prophaneness, Immorality, Arrogancy, Calumnies, Lyes, Contradictions and what not, all tending to Quarrels and Divisions" and then lamented that "what likewise troubles us is, That it goes Currant among the People, that the Practitioners of Physick in Boston, who exert themselves in discovering the Evil of Inoculation and its Tendencies (several of whom we know to be Gentlemen by Birth, Learning, Education, Probity and good Manners that abhors any ill Action) are said, esteem'd and reputed to be the Authors of that Flagicious and wicked paper."[127]

An even more direct reference to who was operating the *Courant* came in the *Little-Compton Scourge*. The author, who had come to know Checkley well through their former acquaintance, referred to him as "the miserable and dull *Couranto*." Referring to the legend in the *Courant's* nameplate ("Homo non-unius Negotii: Or, Jack of all Trades"), the *Scourge's* author addressed Checkley as "Jack" and as "Homo unius Negotii," thus indicating that he identified the *Courant* as Checkley's publication.

The clearest evidence of the *Courant's* ties to Anglicanism came, however, from the individuals who produced its content. All articles in the first four issues were written by five people, four of whom were members of the High-Church party in King's Chapel and the other the church's assistant rector. Along with Checkley and Douglass, the group consisted of the physicians John Gibbins and George Steward and the Rev. Henry Harris. Checkley's strident Anglican advocacy has already been detailed. In his writings in the *Courant* he avoided presenting Anglican arguments and instead emphasized ridicule of the Puritan leaders, hoping, apparently, to diminish their standing with the public. Abrasive in his style, he upset even the Anglicans when in the third issue of the *Courant* he called the Rev. Thomas Walter, the *Scourge's* author, an "obscene and fuddling Merry-Andrew" and accused him of drunkenness and debauchery.[128] The rector of King's Chapel, perhaps with the support of the church's other members who produced the *Courant*, directed Checkley to desist from such writings.[129]

Thereafter, he dropped his association with the paper.[130] He increased his other activities, however, aimed at promoting the Anglican cause and, as one of his critics declared, "with an uncharitable and bitter Zeal contend[ed] for the Episcopal Pre-eminence."[131] Almost incessantly contentious, he provoked his opponents inside and outside the Anglican church. The Anglican rector at Marblehead wrote of him in these terms: "Such is the flaming zeal of this Mr. Checkley and the party which abets him, that...except [church decisions] agree with their ways of thinking, they put 'em behind 'em and take no notice of them; and...we...the poor inferior clergy...are the

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[126] Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 361.

[127] Boston *News-Letter*, August 21, 1721.

[128] *New-England Courant*, August 21, 1721.

[129] *New-England Courant*, November 27, 1721.

[130] Checkley's Puritan opponents, however, continued to believe for some time that he directed the *Courant*, as shown by a letter Mather Byles, a grandson of Increase Mather, published in the January 8, 1722, issue of the Boston *Gazette*.

[131] Edward Wigglesworth, *Sober Remarks on a Book late reprinted at Boston, Entituled "A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church."* Boston: 1724. Among his strategems was an effort to reveal what he thought was a fabrication in Cotton Mather's claim that the latter was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Checkley had begun his investigation with a letter to Francis Nicholson on August 22, 1720 (in Slafter, *John Checkley*, pp. 152-153). Referring to those efforts in 1723 Mather wrote the secretary of the Royal Society to complain that "an infamous fellow, whose name is John Checkley, a sorry Toryman...wrote a letter full of scandalous invective against me, which was publicly read in the Royal Society. This wretched man...printed some rapsodies, to prove that the God whom...the christians of New-England worshipped, is the D---l. A young and bright kinsman of mine [Thomas Walter], bestowed such a castigation on the blasphemer that I became thereupon the object of his implacable revenge." (Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 359.)

Butts of their vehement and ungoverned heart."[132] Against such criticism, Checkley continually complained about how he was treated. "It is very hard to bear such treatment," he wrote an Anglican official; "but it is much harder to bear, that some of those very Priests whose sacred Orders & Functions I have taken so much Pains to defend...against Atheists, Deists & Dissenters, should be willing to give me up to their Fury, and devote me to Ruin."[133] He had built such a notoriety that when he applied for ordination to the Anglican clergy in 1728, Bishop Gibson turned him down. Even when he finally was ordained on his third application in 1739, members of King's Chapel objected. The Rev. Roger Price, the rector, wrote the Bishop of London that ordaining Checkley with the possibility that he would be sent to serve at King's Chapel "would be attended with great inconveniences, upon the account of his troublesome temper and the dislike many of my congregation have to him, some of which have declared to me they would leave the church if he should officiate in it."[134]

Checkley's main partner in the *Courant* venture, Dr. William Douglass, although a member of the High-Church group was not as zealous in his advocacy of Anglicanism as was Checkley. He appears to have been drawn into the operation mainly because of his personal animosity toward Cotton Mather and Dr. Boylston over the inoculation issue, and he and Checkley later became antagonists themselves in squabbling over the internal affairs of King's Chapel. Although his earlier essay in the Boston *News-Letter* used religious grounds against the practice of inoculation, his articles in the *Courant* dealt in medical and legal objections and in ridicule and attacks on proponents.[135] By early 1722, after the success of inoculation had been demonstrated by contrasting mortality figures of inoculees and other residents, Douglass was slowly coming around to accepting the procedure, although he wrote that "For my own Part, till after a few Years, I shall pass no positive Judgment of this bold Practice."[136] The arrogant professionalism that manifested itself during the inoculation controversy plagued him throughout his career. He harbored a dislike for both Boylston and Mather for the remainder of his life and demeaned their efforts even after inoculation had become a standard practice. Similarly, his efforts to form a stable Boston Medical Society in 1735, one historian writes, were hampered by "intense bickering and one-upmanship."[137] With both he and Checkley having such aggressive personalities, it is not surprising to find that their relationship quickly soured. As party bickering itensified among the King's Chapel membership, Douglass sided against Checkley. Thus, we find him describing Checkley in 1728 as a "ringleader of the [High-Church] party...[whose] character is notorious" and actions "vile." "[B]eing engaged in...a party," Douglass concluded, Checkley and his cohorts "are obliged to labor the more to vindicate themselves."[138]

Along with Douglass and Checkley, the other two main figures in the founding of the *Courant* were two physicians in King's Chapel, George Steward and John Gibbins, both members of the High-Church party and close associates of Checkley.[139] After the inoculation affair, they, unlike Douglass, remained on friendly terms with Checkley. These two wrote all essays in the first three issues of the *Courant* not authored by Douglass or Checkley.[140] Little is known about

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[132] Rev. David Mossom, December 17, 1724, quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* I, p. 333; and Perry, *Historical Collections* III, p. 169.

[133] Checkley to the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Marshall, June 19, 1724, in Slafter, *John Checkley* II, p. 165. He sent similar complaints in letters to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bennet, June 25, 1724, and to the Rev. Dr. John Haywood, June 23, 1725, in Slafter, *John Checkley* II, pp. 167 and 172.

[134] Price to Lord Bishop of London, December 21, 1738, *Church Documents of Massachusetts* III, pp. 451-452.

[135] Douglass wrote anti-inoculation articles in the August 7, 14, 21, and four other issues of the *Courant* beginning in January of 1722. The other article identified with his name in Benjamin Franklin's files of the first forty-three issues was a personal attack on Philip Musgrave, publisher of the Boston *Gazette*.

[136] *New-England Courant*, January 22, 1722.

[137] Eric H. Christianson, "Medical Practitioners of Massachusetts, 1630-1800: Patterns of Change and Continuity," 49-68 in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820*, p. 65.

[138] Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, March 18, 1728, *Massachusetts Historical Collections* II, p. 182.

[139] Rev. Thomas Harward to Bishop of London, July 19, 1731, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 414.

[140] Along with essays, the *Courant* ran a number of brief accounts of news. Who obtained them is not known, but it may be that Franklin had the task.

Steward's life.[141] He was born in Scotland (date unknown) and had moved to Boston by 1713, having already begun to practice medicine. His educational background is unknown, but it is possible that he had military medical experience. Records of King's Chapel indicate that he had contributed funds for the maintenance of the church's new organ in 1713 and for the enlargement of the church building in 1715. The organ was the first used in public worship in New England. He was a pew holder in the church, a member of the church's vestry from 1721 (after the Checkley party captured control of the church) to 1741, and one of two wardens in 1732-1734. An affluent and leading member of the church, like Checkley he also was prominent in the acrimony surrounding its affairs in the 1720s. A member of the small High-Church party, he was one of seven signers of a report complaining about the Rev. Roger Price, the church's rector.[142] When Checkley was charged with libel for publishing another reprint of Leslie's "Short and Easie Method with the Deists" in 1724, Steward helped him post his £100 bond. Intensely interested in Anglican efforts, he later became treasurer of the Episcopal Charitable Society.

Steward's first contribution to the *Courant* appeared in the second issue. It and an essay by Douglass filled the entire front page. Although using strong language, his work dealt less in personal attack than that of the other *Courant* writers. His first article criticized inoculation on the grounds that reports from Turkey indicated unfavorable reactions to the procedure.[143] As the controversy later cooled, he published a long article, occupying all of the first page and part of the second, objecting to inoculation on the grounds that, while it might benefit some people, some also died from it. While most of the article was taken up with medical arguments, Steward accused Boylston of inoculating in a way that resulted in the inoculees' spreading the disease to other people and charged him and the Puritan clergy of violating the Sixth Commandment against murder.[144]

Unlike Steward's writing, that of John Gibbins did not mention inoculation but dealt instead solely in personal attacks. He had demonstrated his nature early in life.[145] Born in 1687, the son of a military officer, he had the distinction of being the most frequently fined member of his Harvard class, mainly because of his propensity for breaking window glass. He served as a physician's apprentice during the Port Royal military campaign against the French, and after receiving his masters degree in 1709 he entered the apothecary business in Boston. Growing prosperous from dispensing medical concoctions and from his work as a "phisitian," he went into the rental home business and built up a large estate. As a member of King's Chapel, he contributed substantial amounts of funds for maintenance campaigns and more money than any other individual toward construction of its second building. In 1720 he put up a £50 bond for Checkley in a criminal case, and subsequently he was elected to the church's vestry when the Checkley party gained control of church affairs. He served in that position until 1761. He also served as warden in 1725-1726, as secretary of the church's annual meeting in 1728, and as a member of the committee which headed the efforts to construct a second Episcopal church in Boston, Christ Church, and was one of the contractors for land on which to build a third, Trinity Church. Although baptized in the liberal Brattle Street Church, he was a convert to Anglicanism and, like so many converts tended to do, became one of its notable and ardent advocates. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* records of him: "Like most converts he showed an eagerness to attack his old associates, an eagerness which calmer heads among the Anglicans deplored as harmful to their cause, and he associated with men who with some reason were accused of carrying their religion to the point of disloyalty to King George."[146] He remained a firm supporter of Checkley's High-Church efforts, and by 1722 he was deeply involved in the battle with the Rev. Henry Harris, assistant rector, over internal church affairs.[147]

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[141] The following biographical details are gathered from Edward J. Forster, *From the Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk Co.*, p. 279; King's Chapel records of various dates in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 211, 231, 586, 603, and 606; and John Checkley, June 1, 1724, in Slafter, *John Checkley* II, p. 158.

[142] King's Chapel records, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 434-435. The group claimed that the Rev. Price neglected to do his duty of visiting the sick, including those who had contracted smallpox in an epidemic of 1729.

[143] *New-England Courant*, August 14, 1721. The paradox of Steward using Turkish evidence in support of his argument while Douglass criticized Mather for using it apparently escaped notice.

[144] *New-England Courant*, December 11, 1721.

[145] The following biographical details on Gibbins are constructed from "John Gibbins," in Clifford Shipton, ed., *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937), pp. 315-317; Slafter, *John Checkley*, pp. 38-39; and King's Chapel records found in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 265, 315-317, 334, 357-359, 603, and 606.

Gibbins' major written contribution to the *Courant* was an attack in the third issue on *Thomas Walter, also the target of Checkley's assault. Gibbins repeated a rumor that Walter drank* excessively, although he claimed in different parts of his essay that the drink was rum, wine, cider, and dram.[148] His attack bore all the marks of someone who simply wanted to attack the ministers of his former faith and had no goal of helping advance any useful discussion.

Following Gibbins' and Checkley's two-pronged attack on Walter, uneasiness about the direction the *Courant* was taking intensified. Although primarily concerned about the opposition to inoculation, Mather may also have had the two High Churchmen in mind when he recorded in his diary three days later:

> The Town is become almost an Hell upon Earth, a City full of Lies, and Murders, and Blasphemies, as far as Wishes and Speeches can render it so; Satan seems to take a strange Possession of it, in the epidemic Rage, against that notable and powerful and successful way of saving the Lives of People from the Dangers of the Small-Pox. What can I do on this Occasion, to gett the miserable Town dispossessed of the evil Spirit, which has taken such an horrible Possession of it? What besides Prayer with Fasting, for it?[149]

Concern about the *Courant* was not limited, however, to the targets of the attacks. The pastors of King's Chapel were disturbed. Checkley, they thought, had gone overboard; and they "reprove[d]" Franklin for printing the essays.[150] The outcome was that Checkley dropped his association with the *Courant*, refusing even to subscribe to it.[151]

In order to continue publishing the newspaper, King's Chapel's assistant rector, the Rev. Henry Harris, took over writing duties for the issue of August 28. More moderate than the High Churchmen, he showed more civility than Checkley. Still, his essay, which filled most of the non-news space in the paper, argued that it was a religious duty and a requirement of the Sixth Commandment that inoculators avoid spreading smallpox deliberately.[152] The other non-news item was an anti-inoculation rhyme of twenty-eight lines and of unknown authorship.[153]

Parishioners had received Harris, a native of England, in early 1708 with optimism about the graciousness they expected he would bring to their troubled church. His tenure, however, was to be marked by contention both inside and outside the church. In 1712 he helped initiate a bitter dispute when he printed a preface to a tract in which he claimed that the Church of England was the legally established church and that it was "the most perfect Church upon Earth" and in which he referred to Increase Mather as forgetful because of his old age, vulgar, unable to "distinguish betwixt Truth and Falsehood," and intent on "harden[ing] People in their Hatred and Animosities...against the best Protestant Church in the World." He closed the preface with the declaration that it was "the Duty of the People of New-England...to forsake their Errors, and return to their Obedience to Our Spiritual Governours, whose Lawful Authority they have so long rejected and disowned."[154] Increase Mather responded with a tract; and Harris's attack was, according to Cotton Mather, "almost universally decried." Harris was, Mather wrote, "under some Attrition for his unhappiness...in writing his Preface."[155]

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[146] Shipton, ed., *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, p. 316. These men were the Non-jurors, supporters of James II of Scotland's claim to the British throne.

[147] John Gibbins et. al. to Timothy Cutler [rector], October 2, 1722, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 316-317.

[148] *New-England Courant*, August 21, 1721.

[149] August 24, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 639.

[150] James Franklin, recounting the episode, in *New-England Courant*, November 27, 1721.

[151] *New-England Courant*, January 15, 1722.

[152] *New-England Courant*, August 28, 1721.

[153] In his marked files of the *Courant*, Benjamin Franklin originally had indicated that the composition was by his brother, James, but he then marked through the name.

Following the rebukes, Harris began to develop a more cordial relationship with the dissenting clergy, eventually leading him into a feud with Checkley. A glimmer of the acrimony appeared as early as 1719 when Checkley published his reprint of Leslie's "...Short and Easie Method with the Deists...." Harris did not sympathize with the extreme views of the High-Church party which Leslie's tract exemplified, and Checkley accused him of "rather seeming to join with the Dissenters than the Church."[156] By 1722 the dispute had grown so bitter that it was irresolvable.[157] The conciliatory attitude the Rev. Harris had adopted toward Puritanism was evidenced by a long piece he wrote for the October 8, 1722, issue of the *Courant* in which he called for acceptance of one another by Puritans and Anglicans. "The Church of England is doubtless a true and excellent Church," he wrote; "but (tho' I am of that Communion) I dare not say, as some do, that it is *The true Church*, exclusive of all others...for Christ's Church is not limited to any Sect or party whatsoever." His sentiment was a far cry from that of the founders of the *Courant*. When he died in 1729, the vestry of King's Chapel voted "that no money should be paid out of the church stock towards defraying the charge" of his burial.[158]

After the *Courant's* fourth issue, the newspaper passed out of the hands of its original operators. Without Checkley's leadership, the High Churchmen Steward and Gibbins apparently had no burning desire to continue with the paper. Dr. Douglass was more interested in his medical practice than in producing a newspaper each week; and the Rev. Harris' Anglican passion was not hot enough to induce him to continue the project. Steward, Douglass, and Harris would write other articles, but no longer were they involved in operating the paper. With the fifth issue, that duty seems to have passed into the hands of James Franklin, and the responsibility for providing the content was taken up by a "Mr. Gardner." The *Courant* of September 4 carried this notice of the change: "Several Gentlemen in Town believing that this Paper (by what was inserted in No. 3) was published with a Design to bring the Persons of the Clergy in Contempt, the Publisher thinks himself oblig'd to give Notice, that he has chang'd his Author."

Despite the change in management, the *Courant* did not change significantly. Although claiming to be neutral on inoculation and "promis[ing] that nothing for the future shall be inserted, anyways reflecting on the Clergy...and nothing but what is innocently Diverting,"[159] the newspaper still opposed inoculation, fought Puritanism, attacked opponents with ridicule, used theological grounds as a basis for much of the attack, and attempted satire. The opposition clergy continued to believe that the *Courant's* "main intention...[was] to Vilify and abuse the best Men we have, and especially the principal Ministers of Religion in the Country,"[160] with Cotton Mather believing the purpose was to "lessen and blacken the Ministers of the Town, and render their Ministry ineffectual."[161]

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[154] Henry Harris, preface to "A Discourse concerning *The Inventions of Men* in the Worship of GOD...." Boston: November 7, 1712.

[155] Mather to Wait Winthrop, November 19th, 1712, 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections* VIII, p. 414.

[156] Checkley to the Rev. Mr. Black, minister of King's Chapel in Westminster, Dec. 27, 1727, in Slafter, *John Checkley*, p. 187.

[157] The High-Church party successfully opposed Harris' attempts to be appointed rector of King's Chapel. Harris gave his version of the dispute in a long letter to Bishop Gibson, June 22, 1724, quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, pp. 287-288.

[158] Quoted in George Francis Marlowe, *Churches of Old New England: Their Architecture and Their Architects, Their Pastors and Their People* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), p. 26.

[159] *New-England Courant*, September 4, 1721.

[160] Boston *Gazette*, January 15, 1722. The author probably was Mather Byles, nephew of Cotton Mather.

[161] December 9, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 663. Of all items, approximately fifty in number, related to inoculation that the *Courant* published by the end of 1721, only one, a report from London, was slightly favorable toward the practice. Typical of the religious ridicule was James Franklin's "Essay against Hypocrites" in the issue of January 14, 1723. The only notable change in the *Courant's* content after the fourth issue was more occasional publication of essays on public and private manners. A favorite topic was relationships between

Members of King's Chapel continued to have a dominant hand in writing its content. All but three of the paper's contributors can be identified as Anglicans. The key figures became Franklin, the paper's printer and occasional writer,[162] and the unidentified "Mr. Gardner," who appears to have taken on Checkley's former role of chief writer, authoring about half of the articles.[163] Of the ten writers who, along with the original High-Church group, contributed to the paper between the fourth and forty-third issues, six can be identified as members of King's Chapel, one can be identified as an Anglican and therefore a probable member of King's Chapel, one ("Mr. Gardner") cannot be identified, and one writer perhaps was not an Anglican, although he was a friend of the Rev. Harris. The other writer was sixteen-year-old Benjamin Franklin, whose first "Silence Dogood" essay was printed in the issue of April 2, 1722. Since he was an apprentice in James' shop, religious motives may have been irrelevant to his desire to write for the *Courant*. Eliminating his articles and those by Gardner, who may or may not have been Anglican, one can calculate that about nine-tenths of the remainder were written by people who can be identified as members of King's Chapel.

Along with Gardner and James and Benjamin Franklin, the writers were the following:[164]

— Matthew Adams, whose first article, a poem, was published in November 1721. It concluded that the smallpox epidemic was God's punishment on Boston for its crimes. In later writing, he ridiculed Cotton Mather. Although married in 1715 in Brattle Street Church, he was a member of King's Chapel.

— Thomas Fleet, who published three articles in the first forty-three issues of the *Courant*, with the first appearing in January 1722. He printed a number of pamphlets for John Checkley, including his first reprint of Leslie's "Short and Easie Method with the Deists," and was the printer

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spouses. The *Courant* also published a considerable number of attacks on Philip Musgrave, who in 1720 had taken the printing contract for the Boston *Gazette* from James Franklin and given it to Samuel Kneeland.

[162] He authored fourteen articles in the first forty-three issues.

[163] J.A. Leo Lemay identified him as "Nathaniel Gardner" but provided no explanation of how he arrived at that conclusion. See Lemay, "Franklin and the Autobiography," in *Eighteenth-Century Studies: A Journal of Literature and the Arts* 1: 2 (December 1967): 193. Nathaniel Gardner was, apparently, only a minor figure in Boston. City government records show that he held the following appointed positions: "Hogreeve" (1717); "Assessor" (1718); "Tithingman" (1723 and 1726); "Scavenger" (1725-1727 and periodically until his death in 1762); and "Informer about Deer" (periodically until his death). (In Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634-1775.*) Since a number of individuals held each of these positions every year, Gardner's appointment indicates no particular prominence. Tourtellot, who examined Gardner's *Courant* writing in search of identification, concluded his study with no suggestion of the writer's full name. However, he declared that he was a Congregationalist, basing his assumption on the subject matter of Gardner's writing rather than on any record of church membership. His evidence, however, is tenuous. Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 304. Who "Mr. Gardner" was not only is unanswered, but may be unanswerable. Lemay appears to base his opinion that it was Nathaniel Gardner on the spelling of the last name, when in fact the variations "Gardner," "Gardiner," and "Gardener" were used interchangeably among Boston families. Because of the assumption that "Mr. Gardner" was a man several years older than Benjamin Franklin, Lemay apparently had in mind a Nathaniel Gardner who was born in 1681. He apparently died at an early age, however, for his parents, John and Susanna, had another son born in 1692 and named that son "Nathaniel." (*A Report of the Record Commissioners Containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630-1699*. Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1883.) The latter would have been twenty-nine years old in 1721, which probably would not have led Benjamin Franklin to refer to him as "Mr." when he did not use that form of address for the other *Courant* writers. Since, with a minor exception, the other *Courant* writers were Anglicans, it seems reasonable to guess that "Mr. Gardner" also was a member of King's Chapel, perhaps John Gardiner, Esq., or the Rev. James Gardiner, both of whom may have had the educational background to compose written material for the *Courant* and who died in 1738 and 1739, respectively, suggesting that in 1721 they may have been old enough to inspire Benjamin Franklin to call them "Mr."

[164] Biographical details are gained from the following sources: Shipton, ed., *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*; Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*; Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*,; Slafter, *John Checkley*; *Dictionary of American Biography*; *American Biography*; *Dictionary of American Authors*; *American Authors*; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*; *American Authors and Books*; and *Cyclopedia of American Literature*.

for King's Chapel. He was so strongly opposed to the High-Church faction in the Anglican Church that he left England, arriving in Boston in 1712. Although he printed a number of publications for Cotton Mather, who conducted his wedding in 1715, he was a member of King's Chapel.

— Thomas Lane, who wrote his first *Courant* article in April 1722. A member of King's Chapel, he provided generous funding for new construction.[165]

— John Williams, who wrote a piece for the *Courant* in March 1722. Best known as the proprietor of a "tobacco-cellar" where he sold tobacco and medicines, he was named in King's Chapel records as early as May 1694,[166] when he bought a pew in the church. His most notable writing during the inoculation controversy was published in two pamphlets opposing the practice (one claiming it was a "Delusion of the Devil")[167] and highly critical of Cotton Mather, both written in a peculiar style with most words misspelled.

— John Eyre, whose first *Courant* article was published in November 1721 and was followed by three others. His parents had been members of the Old South Church, but his *Courant* articles were especially nasty in their attacks on Mather. Graduating with a master's degree from Harvard in 1721, he showed a special fondness for an opulent lifestyle and became a wealthy merchant. After experiencing financial setbacks, he moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he was one of the leading laymen in the Anglican church there, Queen's Chapel.

— John Valentine, a leading lawyer in Boston and a warden at King's Chapel.

— Capt. Christopher Taylor, who wrote seven *Courant* articles between December 1721 and the following May. He dealt in rental housing,[168] and one of his renters was the Rev. Harris; his church membership, however, is unknown. His parents were members of First Church.

THE REAL JAMES FRANKLIN

That the *Courant* should continue a strong Anglican tenor under Franklin is not surprising. James Franklin is one of the most misunderstood figures in media history. His contemporaries left only sketchy details about him, leaving historians to create a character almost entirely from their imagination. The creation embodies all the features desired in a hero: a young rebel, an underdog fighting against powerful hypocrites, a rationalist who appealed to the intellect rather than narrow religious faith, a liberator of the mind. The problem with this creation is that it has no basis in historical fact. Virtually none of the features the historians have imagined — from Franklin's deism, to the reasons he supposedly began the *Courant*, to his intellectual genius, to his ability to attract a group of brilliant minds as writers, to his opposition to religion, and to his advocacy of freedom of the press — did he possess.

The James Franklin of historians never existed. Many of the historical assumptions are refuted by familiar details. He gained his printing knowledge through an apprenticeship and was not well educated, thus making it unlikely that he could have been the nucleus for a group of men of better education, higher social standing, and aggressive ambition as Checkley, Douglass, Steward, Gibbins, and Harris were. Furthermore, he was young (twenty-five years old in 1721) and struggling in his printing business. His younger brother, Benjamin — admittedly biased because of the treatment he received as James' apprentice — described him as demeaning, envious, passionate, and hot-headed.[169] While his writing in the *Courant* was sometimes passable in style and substance, it was not scintillating, and it was prone to be petty and capricious, often revealing him sulking over criticism he received after having first attacked his critic. The clearest personality that emerges is that of an immature, rash young man unable to handle the criticism and pressure that his own actions provoked.

The historians' legend of Franklin rests primarily on two features: his opposition to religion and his contributions as one of the first major American figures in advancing freedom of the press. As for the latter, C. Edward Wilson, in his study "The Boston Inoculation Controversy...," has convincingly disposed of that misconception.[170] On the former, the record reveals that not only was Franklin not irreligious, but that he was a devout Christian, that he was a church member, and that the church was the Church of England. More specifically, it was Boston's King's Chapel.

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[165] King's Chapel records, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* II, p. 124.

[166] Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* II, p. 117-118.

[167] *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet*.... Boston: 1722.

[168] Chris Taylor to Samuel Sewell, May 21, 1716, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 393.

[169] Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, pp. 24-25.

Josiah Franklin, his father, moved from England to Boston in 1685, becoming a member of the Old South Church. James, like his brother Benjamin later,[171] was baptized there upon his birth on February 4, 1696.[172] He perhaps adopted the Puritan faith of his father as a child or teenager. When he accepted Christianity as his personal faith is not known, but we have words from his own mouth that as an adult he was a professing Christian. When challenged for the *Courant's* attacks on the Puritan clergy, he responded that he was confident of his own salvation. "I expect and Hope to appear before God," he declared, "with safety in the Righteousness of Christ."[173] Those are not the words of a deist or atheist, but of an individual who accepts the most fundamental belief of Christianity.

We also know from his own writing that he was a church member. In responding to a charge that he used the *Courant* to "Banter and Abuse the Ministers of God," he asserted that "*My own pastors* are as faithful to their Flock as [Cotton Mather] can be to his" (italics added for emphasis),[174] clearly indicating that he held church membership.

His church, however, was not the Old South of his father[175] or Cotton Mather's North Church.[176] At some point he converted to Anglicanism. While still in his teens, he went to his father's hometown of Ecton in England and then to London to learn printing as an apprentice, and it apparently was during those years that he became a convert to the Anglican church. Such a change was not unusual for colonials who visited England. Away from the support of fellow Puritan believers and surrounded by a culture pervaded with Anglican influence, a number succumbed to the doctrine that salvation was possible only through the ordained episcopate. The conditions were such that even several noted Puritan clergy converted. Some, upon returning to America, became prominent in Anglican affairs and even took up the ministry of their new church. John Checkley was such a convert.[177] That Franklin similarly had converted — or, at the latest, within a year following his return to Boston in 1717 — is attested to by the following King's Chapel record of funds donated for improvements: "A List of the Well disposed Gentlemen and other Persons that Contributed their assistance for the Building a Gallery, a New Pulpit, and adorning the Kings Chappel in Boston, and the Paving before it in the Year 1718." There, in the list including names of such parishioners as "Doctor John Gibbins," is that of "J: Franklyn," who along with "Capt. Richd. Quick" made a contribution of £10.[178]

James Franklin's membership in King's Chapel completed the *Courant's* ties to that church, which thus had among its parishioners the newspaper's two founders, eleven or more of its fourteen writers, and, finally, its printer also. When the paper's anti-Puritan content is viewed in light of this, its Anglicanism, it is recognized not as a generalized, secular criticism of stuffy Puritanism, but as a theologically based attack on a competing faith.

COURANTEERS VS. INOCULATORS

The *Courant's* targets responded in several ways. Friends of the Puritan clergymen and Dr. Boylston defended them, and sometimes the targets defended themselves through pseudonomous letters to the *News-Letter* and the *Gazette*. Cotton Mather encouraged some responses to the "villanous Abuses offered and multiplied, unto the Ministers of the Place."[179] It was not unusual for the responses to include retaliatory attacks of their own. The most devastating charge was that the *Courant's* writers were the equivalent of the sacriligious and infamous Hell-Fire Club of England,[180] and the *Courant's* writers went to great lengths to refute the charge.[181]

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[170] Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy."

[171] Marlowe, *Churches of Old New England*, p. 11.

[172] Oswald, *Printing in the Americas*, p. 116.

[173] *New-England Courant*, January 29, 1722.

[174] *New-England Courant*, November 27, 1721.

[175] In *ibid.*

[176] Franklin wrote that Mather "has no Business to curse anybody out[side] of his own Congregation."

[177] The most famous conversions were those of Timothy Cutler and James McSparran. Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, pp. 342-343, provides a brief account of their conversions.

[178] King's Chapel records, reprinted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, p. 265. Benjamin Franklin, although not a Christian, also joined the Anglican church and sent his wife, children, and servants to it.

In general, however, the pro-inoculators were more restrained than the *Courant* writers. Although the main target of the town's anger and the *Courant's* sarcasm, Cotton Mather was cautious about using intemperate language. By December 1721 he believed James Franklin deserved most of the blame for the *Courant's* offenses, and he referred to him in a diary entry as "the wicked printer."[182] When, however, he succumbed to the human desire to retort publicly, he usually chided himself. "I do not always preserve that Meekness of Wisdome which would adorn the Doctrine of GOD my SAVIOR," he wrote in his diary on October 29, 1721. "I use too bitter Terms. I will ask Wisdome of GOD for the Cure of this Distemper."[183] Within a week, he recorded again: "This abominable Town, treats me in a most malicious, and murderous Manner, for my doing as CHRIST woud have me to do, in saving the Lives of the People from an horrible Death; but I will go on, in the Imitation of my admirable SAVIOR, and overcome Evil with Good."[184] A few days later, he wrote, "I am awakened unto exceeding Watchfulness, that none of my Temptations may discourage and enfeeble my usefulness."[185]

Since the key public issue in the controversy was inoculation, the pro-inoculators argued for the efficacy of the practice. Both sides in the argument resorted to personal attack, but the pro-inoculators on the whole relied more on medical knowledge and facts. The public opposition to Cotton Mather's role in the inoculation controversy reached its most violent when, in November, an unknown Bostonian threw a grenade into his home. The *Courant* cannot be accused of direct responsibility, but it did its part in whipping up public frenzy against Mather. The latter believed, however, that truth about the value of inoculation eventually would win the day. "The Opposition to it, has been carried on," he wrote in his diary in November, "with senseless Ignorance and raging Wickedness," but he already was growing confident in "the growing Triumphs of Truth over [the opposition]."[186] When a few days later he was planning publication of a discussion of inoculation, he expressed confidence that an "Abundance of Lives may be saved by our Testimony. Truth also will be rescued and maintained."[187] The inoculators produced a number of pamphlets and newspaper articles attempting to show the evidence in support of inoculation.[188] In the long run, their argument worked because of the demonstrated success of the practice.[189]

Another ingredient in the pro-inoculators' ultimate victory was their demonstrated concern for those among Boston's populace who contracted smallpox. Cotton Mather's diary entry for September 26, 1721, revealed some of the anguish the clergy faced in their daily work with the sick:

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[179] January 17, 1722, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 672. See also entries of January 25 and 26, 1722, in *ibid.*, p. 674.

[180] Boston *News-Letter*, August 21, 1721.

[181] See, for example, *New-England Courant*, August 28, 1721, and January 15, 1722. There is no evidence to suggest, as some historians have stated, that the *Courant* writers accepted the name as a badge of pride. To the contrary, the *Courant's* response indicates that the charge was unsettling to them.

[182] December 9, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 663.

[183] *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 655.

[184] November 3, 1721, *ibid.*

[185] November 12, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 657. Similar statements may be found in Mather's diary entries of December 3, 17, and 24, 1721; January 14 and 17, 1722, *ibid.*, pp. 662-672.

[186] November 19, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 659.

[187] November 23, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 660.

[188] Typical of their efforts were such pamphlets as Increase Mather's *Several Reasons Proving that Inoculating...the Small Pox Is a Lawful Practice* (Boston: November 1721); Cotton Mather's *Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox in Boston in New England* (Boston: October 1721); and Benjamin Colman's *Some Observations on the New Method of Receiving the Small-pox, by Ingrafting or Inoculation* (Boston: November 1721).

[189] The staunchest opponents among the physicians, however, continued to argue against it. Cotton Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* II, p. 364.

> To strengthen a dear Child in the Agonies of Death, is a sad Work, which I am again call'd unto.
>
> Between ten and eleven in the Evening the dear Child expired. A long and a hard Death was the Thing appointed for her.[190]

At the height of the epidemic, when scores were dying weekly and the *Courant* was running satire on women's fashions, the clergy were visiting the sick, providing the poor with firewood for the winter, trying their best to comfort them and their families, and in their visits facing the possibility of contracting a disease themselves.[191] In October 1721, when 411 residents died, the *Courant* was publishing satiric verse on romance, while Mather recorded in his diary:

> [October 7] The afflicted still multiply upon me. The contagious distemper, seems now at the Heighth in my Neighborhood. The Number of the Sick that had Prayers asked for them in the Bills at the Old North Church, on the last Lord's Day, was, two hundred and two. On the Monday, the Number of my Prayers with the Sick, added unto those of my domestic Sacrifices, were one and thirty....
>
> [October 8] What a Week must I look for! The Number of Persons in the Bills for Prayers on behalf of the Sick of the Smallpox, in the Old North Church this day, amounts to about 315....
>
> [October 14] I am furnished with Money, to be dispensed unto miserable Families. My dear Greenwood supplies me with a Sum for that Purpose. I'll be as faithful and prudent a Steward as I can: But lett it be declared, that I am not myself the original Bestower of the Charity....
>
> [October 15] That Account given of my SAVIOR, He pleased not Himself, I find my Soul penetrate more into the Meaning of it; and grow more deeply affected with it. I will study, that in my Devotions towards GOD, and in my Benignities towards Men I may grow more conform'd unto the glorious Character. 322 in the Notes for the Sick of the small-pox prayed for....
>
> [October 16] My Prayers with the Sick of the Flock, now take up a very great Part of my Time....[192]

The mortality of the smallpox epidemic was greatest in October. The first death had occurred in May, followed by eight deaths in June, eleven in July, twenty-six in August, and 101 in September. After October, which saw 411 deaths, the number fell to 249 in November and to thirty-one in December. The first two months of 1722 had a total of only six deaths, and the Selectmen declared the epidemic over at the end of February. During the ten months since the first appearance of smallpox, a total of 5,889 people contracted the disease. Of those, 844 died.[193]

The proponents of inoculation used those figures to buttress their case.[194] Dr. Boylston reported that he had inoculated 242 patients, of whom six died.[195] The fatality rate was 2.5 per cent. Among people who contracted the disease naturally, the rate was 14.8 per cent. By November of 1721 Cotton Mather had full confidence in inoculation, recording in his diary his intent to provide an explanation of the procedure "and communicate Copies of it, that so Physicians about the Countrey may know how to manage it."[196]

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[190] *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 649.

[191] Cotton Mather recorded in his diary for September 29, 1721: "That I may be supported and preserved in my daily Visits to the sick Chambers, that are so lothsome, and full of Malignity." *Ibid.*, p. 650.

[192] *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, pp. 652-653.

[193] Figures are taken from the Boston *News-Letter*, January 22, February 26, and March 12, 1722.

[194] Beall and Shryock state that Boylston's and Mather's use of the comparative figures in their advocacy of inoculation provided "one of the first historical instances of the quantitative analysis of a medical problem." The mortality figures "provided data for the development of calculus of probabilities by mathematicians." Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather...*, p. 108. Also see R.H. Shryock, *Development of Modern Medicine* (New York, 1947), p. 137.

[195] Zabdiel Boylston, *Historical Account*, p. 50, in Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy...," pp. 496-497.

[196] November 24, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 660. At the end of the month he recorded in his diary his

While the evidence was persuasive, there remained considerable resistance to inoculation. Dr. Douglass admitted in January that smallpox gained through inoculation might be milder than when contracted naturally, but he declared that it must be administered by "abler hands, than *Greek old Women, Madmen and Fools*."[197] When in May 1722, Dr. Boylston resumed the practice, there was a considerable outcry and the Selectmen ordered him to desist.[198] Douglass used the occasion for another attack on Boylston and Mather in the *Courant*;[199] but in England physicians, using documenation provided by Boylston and Mather, renewed experimentation with the practice and came to accept it. Even Douglass eventually acknowledged its effectiveness and urged its use when another epidemic threatened Boston in 1730. At that time, he published two pamphlets providing the medical evidence in support of inoculation — but in none of his work did he ever give either Boylston or Mather any of the credit for developing the procedure.[200]

THE DEATH OF THE *COURANT*

With the end of the smallpox epidemic of 1721, the *New-England Courant* lost the public issue that had provided the immediate cause for its founding. Thereafter, it resorted to personal attacks — which most generously can be called petty — on Cotton Mather and other Puritan clergy. Its original High-Church group no longer wrote for the paper, but theological differences with Puritanism continued to provide material for its group of newer contributors. Although promising readers to be bright and entertaining, it continued to publish only for four years after the smallpox epidemic ended, outlived by both the Boston *Gazette* and *News-Letter*.

James Franklin left no written record specifying why the paper folded, but a number of factors seem to have been important. Most immediate was the end of the epidemic. Although the public did not immediately change its views on inoculation, Mather and Boylston soon were to be widely recognized for their achievements, the first in preventive medicine in the English-speaking world. By contrast, the *Courant's* opposition to the practice made its writers look credulous and reactionary.[201]

More important than smallpox in the long run, however, was the unpopularity of Anglicanism in Boston. Even though the inoculation hysteria for a time had led to outrage against the Puritan clergy, Puritanism remained the faith of the vast majority of the populace. Antiministerial sentiment was present, but after the inoculation controversy it seemed confined to small groups such as those who wrote for the *Courant*.[202] The number of Anglican church members gradually increased, but that was due to an increase in the size of Boston's population rather than to converts

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intent to "write a further and a more distinct Account of the Small-Pox Inoculated, the Method and Success of it among us, and the Opposition to it; By which Means I hope, some hundreds of thousands of Lives, may in a little while come to be preserved." November 30, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 662.

[197] William Douglass, *Inoculation as Practiced in Boston*. Boston: 1722.

[198] *New-England Courant*, May 14, 1722.

[199] *New-England Courant*, May 21, 1722.

[200] William Douglass, *Dr. Douglass's Practical Essay Concerning the Small Pox* (Boston: 1730) and *A Dissertation Concerning Inoculation of the Smallpox* (London: 1730).

[201] For a discussion of this aspect of the inoculation controversy, see the chapter "The Advent of Preventive Medicine" in Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather*....

[202] Cotton Mather frequently expressed concern about criticism of the clergy, and a number of historians assumed there was widespread popular discontent. Miller elaborates that argument in the chapter "Antiministerial Sentiment" in *The New England Mind*. Shipton, however, refuted the argument point-by-point. He wrote that "The group of parson-baiting skeptics which [one historian] hails as typical of the new age, was a small and influential minority which drops from sight after the exile of [James] Franklin. The failure of the *Courant* and the fact that no attempt was made to revive it...shows that its critical stand was unpopular" (Shipton, "A Plea for Puritanism," p. 96). Following Rutman's reasoning, we might assume that Massachusetts society was more diverse than historians traditionally have believed and that any diminished prestige the clergy may have experienced, if indeed it did, was a result not of a growing secularism but simply a result of the dynamics of a heterogeneous society. Darrett B. Rutman, *American Puritanism: Faith and Practice* and "The Mirror of Puritan Authority."

from Puritanism. Anglican membership remained disproportionately small.[203] Of the eleven Boston churches in 1721, seven were Congregational and one was Anglican. The other three were Anabaptist, Quaker, and Huguenot. The continuing arguments of its most belligerant advocates, such as John Checkley, that no other church had any validity annoyed rather than persuaded. Because of that narrow view, combined with the Anglican church's ties to the British monarchy, Anglicanism made itself repugnant to most Massachusetts inhabitants. Puritanism remained the clearly dominant faith.[204] Although the *Courant* stayed away from arguing the unpopular dogma of Anglican preeminence, it did take positions that Anglican authorities held. One, for example, was the large amount of space it devoted in late 1722 to the defection to Anglicanism of the Congregational administrators of Yale College. In a town as overwhelmingly Puritan as Boston was, the *Courant's* position was far from popular.

The *Courant* also suffered when its methods were contrasted with those of its opponents. The *Courant's* writers, its critics, and historians described the paper in many ways; but one word they did not use is "moderation." With an avowed purpose of "expos[ing] the Vices and Follies" of people with whom it disagreed, the paper was unlikely to set an example of propriety. The objects of its darts, on the other hand, while sometimes responding in kind showed a concern about not indulging in meanness or pettiness. Cotton Mather, as the most obvious example of their temperate approach, left in his diary frequent reminders to himself to "Exercise...a forgiving Spirit." Even as the *Courant's* contumely was most vicious at the height of the smallpox epidemic, he wrote, "I must beware, that I don't harbour or admitt, any Tendency towards the least Wish of Evil, unto such as may have displeased me....I must beware, that upon the Provocations...my Speeches be not intemperate and unadvised, or any Ebullitions of Impatience; and Trespasses upon the Rules of Meekness and Wisdome. I must beware, that I don't spread any false Reports."[205] In the passion of the smallpox epidemic, some newspaper readers may have welcomed the *Courant's* language, but in calmer times they recognized the superior value of the opponents' moderation.

Likewise, the genuine concern that Mather and other pro-inoculators showed for those suffering with smallpox spotlighted the *Couranteers'* egocentered and querulous nature. While the *Courant* published lampoons, the clergy were working with the sick and the poor. Writing of Dr. Boylston almost three years after the epidemic, Mather observed that

> When the rest of our doctors...with horrid insinuations infuriated the world against him, this worthy man had the courage and conscience to enter upon the practise [of inoculation]; and...he alone, with the blessing of Heaven, saved the lives of I think several hundreds....With an admirable patience he slighted the allatrations of a self-destroying people, and the satisfaction of having done good unto mankind made him a noble compensation for all the trouble he met withal.[206]

In a similar tone, he wrote the same correspondent:

> [W]e that cry with a loud voice to them, Do yourselves no harm, and show them how to keep themselves from the paths of the destroyer, are conscious of nothing but of a pity for mankind under the rebukes of God...a desire to have our neighbors do well, and a solicitude for a better

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[203] In 1680, the only Anglican clergyman in New England was in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In the 1720s, Anglican clergy claimed that the number of adherents was increasing greatly, but they made up a small proportion of the Massachusetts population throughout the colonial period.

[204] Material relating to the comparative popularity of Anglicanism and Puritanism can be found in such works as Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*; Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate...*; Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*; Hodges, "The Episcopalians"; Platner, "The Congregationalists"; William Wilson Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Morehouse Gorham, 1950); etc. See footnote #3 above.

[205] December 3, 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather* II, p. 662. For similar statements during the same period, see entries of December 17 and 24, 1721.

[206] Mather to Dr. James Jurin, December 15, 1724, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* II, p. 402.

> state of the world. And all the obloquies and outrages we suffer for our charity, we shall entertain as persecutions for a good cause, which will not want its recompenses.[207]

The due regard Bostonians had for Mather's benevolence was attested to best, in terms of the *Courant*, when Benjamin Franklin near the end of his life told Mather's son, "I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book [Mather's *Bonifacius*]."[208]

With his benevolence, Mather combined the best mind in colonial America. The *Courant's* aspersions, made during the inoculation controversy, that he was naive and ill-informed did not hold up in calmer times.[209] His was the first colonial work to gain wide recognition in Europe. Upon his death in 1728, he was eulogized as the most learned mind and the most prolific writer the colonies had produced. His death was lamented by thousands. At his funeral procession, wrote one observer, "[e]very heart [was] sad." "The Streets were crowded with People," the *New England Weekly Journal* reported, "and the Windows fill'd with Sorrowful Spectators all the way to the Burying Place."[210]

A large share of the blame for the death of the *Courant* can be placed, however, directly on the paper's operators. Checkley and his High-Church group had begun the paper with a plan to cloak their theological motives in the inoculation controversy. After James Franklin assumed authority for the content, he did little to elevate it. The paper continued to deal in personal abuse, its efforts at satire were heavy-handed, and Franklin's constant complaints about being criticized by those people whom the *Courant* first attacked leave him looking like the ultimate sniveller. Some historians, because they dislike Cotton Mather, have called the *Courant* sprightly, but there is no reason to assume that Bostonians in the 1720s liked scurrility or awkward style any more than readers do today. The entire tenor of the *Courant* was off-key for it to be a popular or respected newspaper.[211] Without attempting to provide a complete review of the *Courant's* style and content, these characteristics may be offered as those that stand out to the historian and that perhaps were the most salient to Bostonians:

In the *Courant's* early issues, essays and news items each occupied about half of its space (sometimes two pages and sometimes four per issue). The essays either attacked opponents, especially the Puritan clergy, or commented on contemporary behavior, such as male-female relationships. Some attacks were simply heavy-handed and direct, while others attempted to use satire for their ridicule. John Eyre's essay from October 23, 1721, criticizing Cotton Mather for dealing with medical matters, provides an example: "Doubtless, a Clergyman...when he shall degenerate from his own Calling, and fall into the Intriegues of State and Time-Serving, he becomes a Devil; and from a Star in the Firma-Ment of Heaven, he becomes a sooty Coal in the blackest Hell, and receiveth the greatest damnation." Rather than being bright and entertaining, most of the essays come across as sarcastic, gratuitously insulting, unsophisticated in style, dull, and devoid of wit. In addressing issues, they tended to ignore facts and concentrate on minor points that opponents raised. Over time they decreased in number and finally disappeared, leaving the *Courant* as a compiler, like its competitors, of brief news items.[212]

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[207] Mather to Jurin, May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* II, p. 367.

[208] Quoted in Ronald W. Clark, *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1983), p. 19. Some biographers of both Mather and Benjamin Franklin believe the latter created the name "Silence Dogood" as the author of his letters from Mather's *Bonifacius: Essays Upon the Good*. Several historians have addressed the effect of Puritanism generally and Mather specifically on Franklin. I have relied primarily on Campbell Tatham, "Benjamin Franklin, Cotton Mather, and the Outward State," *Early American Literature* 6 (Winter 1971-1972): 223-233; Lipper, "Benjamin Franklin's 'Silence Dogood'..."; and Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*. Franklin himself discussed the influence of *Bonifacius* in his autobiography, p. 16.

[209] While media historians have tended to claim that the *Courant* was the promoter of a rational world view, the *New England Weekly Journal* was the first colonial newspaper established with the purpose of keeping the public informed about science and philosophy. It was started in 1727 by the Puritan printer Samuel Kneeland at the encouragement of Boston's Puritan clergy.

[210] Quoted in Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, pp. 426-427. Silverman, pp. 422-427, includes a number of eulogies.

[211] In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin recalled that the High-Church group of writers for the *Courant* said their compositions were received with "approbation" (p. 23). Several considerations related to their reports make it virtually impossible to verify or refute their accuracy. It may be that during the inoculation controversy a considerable number of members of the public agreed with the *Courant's* approach, or that the *Couranteers* repeated comments from selected readers. It also is even possible that Cotton Mather's later comment was true that anti-inoculators were of such disreputable character that some people came to support inoculation because "they were ashamed of their [anti-inoculaton] company." Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 21, 1723, in Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, p. 362.

The characteristic that finally doomed the *Courant* perhaps was its own pretentiousness and hypocrisy, the exact features it condemned in the Puritan clergy. It opposed inoculation because the clergy favored it. Rather than consider the arguments for and against the practice out of a concern for saving lives from smallpox, it was more eager to attack. While hundreds of Boston residents were dying, it went on with its satire, its abusiveness, and its self-centeredness. Then, as the final paradox, it decried the clergy's sanctimony in berating other people's sins.[213]

Benjamin Franklin provided evidence that the general public was getting annoyed with the *Courant* when it was less than a year and a half old. After the government ordered James not to continue to print the newspaper because of his criticism of the government's slowness in pursuing pirates, he substituted Benjamin's name as printer beginning in the issue of February 4, 1723. Benjamin's salutary address began: "Long has the press groaned in bringing forth an hateful brood of pamphlets, malicious scribbles and billingsgate-ribaldry." He described the new operator as having morals that were "clearly Christian" and as a "man of good temper, courteous Deportment, sound judgment, a mortal Hater of Nonsense, Foppery, Formality, and Endless Ceremony."[214]

Benjamin Franklin remained with the *Courant* only a short time until he seized the opportunity to escape his apprenticeship and fled Boston. The *Courant* from then on went downhill. No records exist of its circulation figures, but its advertising diminished. During the inoculation controversy, from August 1721 through May 1722, it averaged 7.9 column inches of advertising per issue. That gave it 30 per cent of the advertising published in Boston's three newspapers.[215] After the May 1722 issue, however, its advertising shrank to an average of 3.8 inches per issue and 21 per cent of the total. While all three newspapers published ads for pamphlets and other items they printed and sold, such house-ads accounted for a larger amount of space in the *Courant* than in either the *Gazette* or the *News-Letter*. No financial records of the *Courant* are available, but it does not appear from these figures that James Franklin was doing well. He published the *Courant's* final issue on June 25, 1726, and thereafter moved to Rhode Island.

CONCLUSIONS

A number of reassessments of the *New-England Courant* can be drawn from this study:

1) Most fundamentally, the *Courant* was founded not as a liberator from religion, as media historians generally have assumed, but as an advocate of it — not to free people from formal religion but to establish the Church of England.

2) The *Courant's* main figures — including James Franklin — were not skeptics in religion but devout believers.

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[212] The complete files of the *Courant* are in the collection of early American newspapers that the American Antiquarian Society has copied on microfiche and that many libraries now possess. For the researcher who does not wish to examine the collection, the most detailed description of the *Courant's* content is found in Tourtellot's favorable *Benjamin Franklin*.

[213] G. B.Warden, *Boston 1689-1776* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), pp. 89-90, provides an elaboration of this view.

[214] To whom he intended the "ceremony" allusion is uncertain, although in religious matters it was the Anglican church that emphasized formality.

[215] The *Gazette* averaged 10.4 column inches for 40 per cent of the total, and the *News-Letter* 7.8 inches for 30 per cent.

3) From the first two points it can be suggested that the goal of the colonial press was not, as some media historians have assumed, to oppose religion but to promote Christianity or particular denominations.

4) The *Courant* episode provides no evidence of what some historians have claimed was a growing, secularized antiministerial sentiment among the general populace. Since these historians, such as Perry Miller, have relied on the *Courant* as a major part of the substantiation for their argument, the foundation for their entire argument begins to crumble with the fact that the *Courant* was not anti-religion but was pro-Anglican.

5) The *Courant*, as the historian Edward Wilson previously has shown, did not provide a landmark in the history of freedom of the press; it simply continued a practice of outspoken opinion already begun by Boston's other newspapers and pamphlet writers.

6) Although the purpose of this study was not to examine the concept of freedom of the press, it suggests that rather than the *Courant* the real promoters of free expression may have been the dissident Protestants with their broad view of religious authority residing with individual believers. In the particular instance of the inoculation controversy, it seems to have been the Puritan clergy, with their emphasis on reasoned argument, who did the most for press freedom. The *Courant*, by relying on abusiveness, actually may have retarded press freedom by making the public suspect about freedom leading to licentiousness. That possibility would seem to offer an intriguing topic for additional investigation.

This study also poses some general points for consideration about historical study in mass communication:

1) A general bias among historians against formalized, traditional Christianity and in favor of what they think is freedom of the press creates errors in their understanding and explanation of historical situations.

2) Because of the misinterpretation they may present, historical studies (secondary sources) are not only inadequate as sources for research but may be misleading. Thorough research into primary sources is an absolute necessity for coming to an understanding of the media's past.

3) Those sources must include not only the content of the media, but non-media sources as well (such as diaries and correspondence). The media must be examined in their broad cultural context rather than from a narrow perspective which considers them only as isolated institutions. Media history can be understood only when it is viewed as a part of the history of the larger setting in which the media operated.

"Protect the Laborer": Henry Demarest Lloyd and Gilded Age Labor Reporting, 1878-1902"

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"Protect the Laborer": Henry Demarest Lloyd and Gilded Age Labor Reporting, 1878-1902"

Labor reporting, like other forms of specialized news gathering, has been regarded by communication historians as a distinct development of the twentieth-century. Consider the Journalism Bulletin, which remarked in 1924, "truly the age of specialization is at hand." Curtis MacDougall observed in his 1938 Interpretative Reporting that "the trend in the news room is definitely in the direction of specialized reporting." Minneapolis Times-Tribune labor reporter Arnold Aslakson complained to Journalism Quarterly readers that his newspaper still refused to print regular labor reports in 1940 because "it would only stir up the animals." Based on such evidence, it seems proper to consider specialized reporting as a twentieth century phenomenon.[1]

However, little has been written to date about the nineteenth-century connection between specialized reporting and its predecessors, specialized editing and writing. The Journeymen's Mechanics' Advocate was established in 1827 as the nation's first labor newspaper and at least sixty-eight other labor newspapers which were published between 1828 and 1834. Another surge of interest in labor journalism between 1863 and 1873 resulted in 120 labor dailies, weeklies, and monthlies. Each had a specialized editor, often an actual laborer, at the helm. In addition, writers began specializing with editorials at the large dailies such as the New York Tribune before the Civil War. The same papers also routinely hired dramatic, literary and business writers to handle specialized pages and sections in the post-bellum years. At least one Gilded Age paper even had a specialized science writer. The Chicago Times employed former University of Illinois chemistry professor Rodney Welch in 1881 as a science specialist, perhaps the first ever.[2]

The purpose of this paper is to offer a case study of a Gilded Age journalist who was a part of the developmental process leading to specialized reporting. It is not an assertion that Henry Demarest Lloyd was the first to chronicle the tribulations of labor, for that claim clearly belongs to the early labor newspapers. Nor is it an argument that Lloyd was the first labor specialist because he was occupied by a great many concerns during his life and only a few dealt directly with labor. Neither is it a claim that Lloyd wrote his labor stories objectively, for the case was to quite to the contrary largely because journalistic objectivity was an unknown concept in the nineteenth-century. Instead, this paper is an effort to discover something of the evolution of twentieth-century specialized reporting and provide perhaps a page in the yet unwritten history of specialized labor reporting.[3]

Lloyd is best recognized today by communication historians as an early muckraker. His "Story of a Great Monopoly," which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly in 1881, was the first published exposure of a little known oil refiner and monopolist named John D. Rockefeller and predated Ida Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company by 23 years. He broadened and refined his investigation of Rockefeller in the 1894 Wealth Against Commonwealth, a book-length investigation of the Standard that influenced several later muckrakers including Tarbell. Unfortunately, Lloyd, who was born in New York City in 1847, educated as a lawyer at Columbia University, lived in Chicago, and worked much of his life as a journalist and writer, never achieved the fame of later muckrakers because he died in 1903, just as the practice was gaining wide public notice, and because he spent a good part of his life in non-muckraking pursuits, most notably reform. Nevertheless, his journalistic endeavors have earned him a place in labor and reform histories and even convinced one social historian to label him a "labor reporter."[4]

Early Efforts

Lloyd expressed an early inclination toward labor as part of his collegiate study of political economy, a nineteenth-century version of economics. His first media-related position following graduation in 1869 was as a publicist for the American Free-Trade League, a group opposed to the prohibitively high trade tariffs of the nineteenth-century. Lloyd, along with many other liberals of the day, argued that free and untaxed trade eventually would strengthen American business through normal competition and improve the standard of living for workers by making all goods cheaper. He noted in one speech that "American labor needed nothing but a stout arm" to survive. The Free-Trade League supported the concept of strikes, encouraged workers to support free trade and even courted the National Labor Union, one of the first national attempts at unionization. Based on his experience as a publicist and his legal background, he was hired as a night editor for the Chicago Tribune in 1872. He wrote his first editorial echoing the Free-Trade League's positions and impetuously slipped it into the Tribune one night without prior approval and was subsequently demoted to the paper's literary page as punishment. Within a year however, he was named the paper's financial editor and began following industry, commerce, and labor for the paper.[5]

At first, Lloyd's tended to side with business as a result of his legal education and free-trader experience but his lingering interest in labor began to be revealed in several of his Tribune editorials during the latter 1870s, especially following a dramatic national railroad strike that occurred in

1877. As strike-inspired mob violence spread from the East to Chicago, the Tribune followed developments with biased headlines such as "Red War" and "Pitched Battles." Editor Joseph Medill's officially blamed communists, socialists, and vagrants for the strike and resulting violence and made his position clear in news accounts and editorials. Lloyd's columns differed from Medill somewhat, suggesting that front-page accounts of the strike were "exaggerated like everything else." He predicted that the strike was "a foretaste of what may happen when better organization attends the revolt of labor" and suggested that business consider the striker's grievances instead of repressing them. He also called for compulsory arbitration of the dispute, an idea he would advance again in subsequent years. Nevertheless, he agreed in general with Medill that agitators were responsible for the strike and editorially chastised the election of four Chicago socialists to the Illinois legislature the following year, noting that their demands for such labor-backed reforms such as an end to the use of convict labor and the eight-hour workday were likely to meet with little popular acceptance.[6]

As a reward for his loyalty, Medill named Lloyd chief Tribune editorial writer in 1880. He used his new position to espouse a variety of personal causes including respect for labor, but always with the approval of Medill. Although the Tribune supported individual workingman rights, it was not willing to extend that recognition to strikes, which were viewed as futile, or trade unions, which were identified with socialism. Lloyd began to move beyond his editor in 1882 when he sided with Terence V. Powderly's call for legalized trade unions and a National Bureau of Labor to monitor working conditions. He also opposed a return to the gold standard, which would have benefited wealthy investors at the expense of the lower classes. Although his editorials lauded a rally of eighty-thousand workers in New York, he warned that labor activities were "bamboozling the working man" along with politicians and manufacturers and predicted a coming revolution of "industrial liberty" because "the fruits of human labor are unfairly divided...," he still remained aligned in principle with the world of business.[7]

His ideological swing to labor and against business intensified in 1884 for at least two reasons. First, the Republican party firmly aligned itself that year with big business when it nominated Maine Senator James G. Blaine for president. Blaine was a close personal friend of Jay Gould, one of the more notorious early "robber barons" and was roundly supported by the nation's business elite. The Tribune had nurtured and encouraged the Republican party since the party's formation and Joseph Medill was not about to abandon the party that some say he had personally named for one disagreeable presidential candidate. Lloyd as well had done some additional reading on political economy and theory during the early 1880s, looking anew at philosophers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin, and his personal notebooks chronicle a progressive shift to the left in his political thinking. His change of mind was also furthered in 1884 by a friendship with a Decatur, Illinois coffin maker who walked one day into Lloyd's Tribune office and supplied him with information on the coffin monopoly and first-hand details of labor abuses in the industry. The result was a gradual shift in Lloyd's editorials that year as he began to blame Blaine and business in general for the nation's ills. His new editorial direction was best exemplified by one remark that "corporations have no souls, and their managers often have no sense." Medill, recognizing the growing ideological conflict with his errant editorialist, responded by limiting Lloyd to pure business editorials during the presidential election.[8]

Lloyd retaliated by writing a number of searing business editorials that all but circumvented Medill's ban. His best topics included the railroads, which backed Blaine and were strongly opposed to organized labor, and Blaine's business supporters including Jay Gould. Of Gould, Lloyd wrote,

> Time was when the lobby was outside the halls of Congress. That was the origin of the name. It applied to the men who stood in the vestibules....but this is a world of progress, and Jay Gould has carried the lobby a step further. His lobby...is now inside, not outside, the Senate Chamber.

Having accused the Republican party's chief financial backer of buying U.S. Senators, Lloyd recognized that he and Medill no longer saw eye to eye and resigned from the Tribune in early 1885. Well versed in journalism, he set out with money and stock he had inherited from his wife's father and turned to free-lancing.[9]

Haymarket Square and The New Conscience

The final step in Lloyd's progression toward labor as the result of a watershed event in American labor history. Just as Elijah Lovejoy's 1837 murder had incensed abolitionists and New York's early twentieth-century Triangle Shirtwaist fire aroused advocates of urban reform, an entire generation of Chicagoans were influenced by the events of Haymarket Square. Convicted participant August Spies correctly predicted from the gallows, "the time will come when our silence in the grave will be more eloquent than our speeches" and he was right. In Lloyd's case, the event motivated him to embrace labor as a journalistic endeavor as he never had before.[10]

The exact details of Haymarket will never be known but a bomb blast on the evening of May 3, 1886 killed seven Chicago police officers and injured more than sixty along with scores of spectators. No one ever claimed responsibility for the blast but police eventually arrested and charged eight working-class men with inciting the incident. Seven were handed down death sentences in a court room so prejudiced by biased press coverage that it pales such classic twentieth-century press-trial debacles as the Bruno Hauptmann and Sam Sheppard cases. Lloyd, moved by the outrageous miscarriage of justice, assisted the defendants in their case and argued their innocence all the way up to the Illinois governor. Only two could be coaxed to request terminations of their death sentences and Lloyd wept as the other five were executed. As it did for many others, Haymarket proved to be a turning point in Lloyd's life, a new commitment toward the labor.[11]

Lloyd had three somewhat immediate responses to Haymarket. First, he became actively involved in organized labor, most significantly Samuel F. Gompers' newly-formed American Federation of Labor. He made frequent speeches to labor gatherings, advocating the eight-hour work day and other labor reforms. In conjunction with his efforts for organized labor, he researched and wrote an 1887 article, "The Political Economy of Child Labor," in the Journal of the Knights of Labor. The article he took issue with the Social Darwinists who held that child labor made for stronger and more able adults. "Under their gospel, the survival is not of the fittest, but of the fightingest," he wrote, "...and by his treatment of the helpless we can infallibly tell how good a man is, and the same test will measure the virtues of a community. So judged, our industrial civilization is industrial savagery." Although the article failed to achieve wide circulation, it demonstrated Lloyd's new commitment to labor.[12]

His second response to Haymarket was to write a speech in 1888, "The New

Conscience," that was designed to open the eyes of the wealthy, upper class that he associated with to the plight of labor. The speech, which was reprinted late that year in the influential North American Review, was more of a philosophical fling at labor than journalism. It provided an updated argument for the age-old Golden Rule, invoking a wide range of figures from Plato, Aristotle, and Jesus Christ to abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips in an effort to promote a new standard of conduct he claimed that would "eliminate abuses and stop treating laborers as 'merchandise.'" As a response to the inhumanity that earmarked the pure study of political economy, the speech ended with a typical late-nineteenth century rhetorical flourish, a prediction that with time all men, rich and poor, would be bound together in love:

> In the sight of the new conscience wherever man walks, there is the Holy Land, and it raises the cross of the new crusade which shall deliver it from the infidels who deny the divine right of the people that the will of God shall be done on earth as in heaven. It insists that every question between men is a religious question, a question of moral economy before it becomes one of political economy, and will make all political, industrial, and social activities functions of a new Church--a church of the deed as well as the creed--a church that will not only preach Christ, but do Christ...a church which will realize the vision of Carlyle of a Human Catholic Church.[13]

Lloyd's essay was well received by intellectuals and social reformers but it was soundly criticized by the press and middle-class public. Liberal William W. Salter called it a brilliant statement on the labor conflict. Labor advocate Henry George endorsed it, observing that his much publicized single-tax proposal fulfilled the spirit of the new conscience. Soon to be Illinois Governor John P. Altgeld, who would eventually commute the sentences of the remaining two Haymarket anarchists, wrote Lloyd that he "would rather be the author of one such article than to hold any office in the gift of the American people." England's socialistic Fabian Society rushed to reprint it.

To the business community however, Lloyd's argument was cluttered by utopian-like impossibilities. The Chicago Tribune faulted its former editorial writer for advocating what it considered the use of "sentiments" in business dealings. The Pittsburgh Telegraph observed that Lloyd's statement lacked a "concrete plan of relief." A Lloyd correspondent argued that capitalism provided any man the chance to improve himself if he so desired and no further consideration was necessary. Still, reprints kept his ideas in circulation for years. The New York Post accused him in 1896 of advocating a economic system based on the value of labor, a charge he vigorously and rightfully denied.[14]

A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners

Lloyd's final Haymarket response and his best effort at labor reporting also turned out to be his first book. A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners documented in an uncharacteristically realistic fashion the events and grim results of a coal miners strike in Spring Valley, Illinois, a town located about eighty-miles southwest of Chicago. On April 29, 1889, the corporate owners of the Spring Valley Coal Company closed their mine, laying off more than one-thousand miners in the process. No firm thought was given to the well being of the miners, only cold, hard business facts. Of those miners, Lloyd later noted,

> They had not struck; they had not asked for any increase in wages; they had made no new demands of any kind upon their employers....The men were simply told to take out their tools at the close of the day, and not come back until they were bid. They were locked out. It was a strike, but it was a strike of millionaires against miners.[15]

As might be expected, the out-of-work miners soon started leaving Spring Valley in search of work elsewhere. The situation was worsened when the

Spring Valley company beyond failing to pay its miners and closed all of its company-owned stores in the town, effectively denying anyone credit. With no knowledge of when, if ever, the mine would reopen, two-thirds of the miners were gone by summer. Left behind were the women, children, sick and aged who were incapable of supporting themselves. Thousands went with little or no food throughout the summer as a result and the town's death rate climbed as hunger-induced diseases took a shocking toll.[16]

Lloyd learned of the Spring Valley situation through newspaper reports as he vacationed at his summer home in Rhode Island. He returned to Illinois in late August and decided to investigate the strike. He met and lived with some of the remaining miners and their families and supporters and also talked with some of the Spring Valley Coal Company officials. Based on his investigation, he concluded that an offer from the company earlier that month to reopen the mines at a sixty-percent salary reduction would only worsen the situation. Having broken the will of its workers, it was now apparent to Lloyd that the company wished to destroy any resistance left in them including their small union. With no other choice, they finally struck against the firm September.[17]

The Chicago newspapers, influenced by the strongly anti-labor Tribune, provided little news of the strike although they did establish a food and clothing drive for the miners in the fall of 1889. Lloyd recognized that miners were not being given a chance to explain their side of the dispute in the press and offered to provide "merciless exposure" on their behalf to rectify the inequality, a proposition they readily accepted. Through a series of emotionally charged letters that he sent to various Chicago newspapers, Lloyd reported the Spring Valley situation including the hunger and rampant poverty prevalent in the town. Playing upon a theme of the wealthy victimizing the poor that he had first discussed in his "New Conscience," he also discovered and reported the names of the entire board of directors for the Spring Valley Coal Company in the hope that direct public pressure would force them to mend their ways. "That this sort of thing will be held to be conspiracy, gentlemen millionaires," he wrote, "is certain as soon as the public get to grasp the motive and the result of your concerted attack upon the lives and liberties of the people." After a number of his letters had appeared and their contents had stimulated more realistic news stories, the company's president tried to counteract Lloyd's powerful reporting in a letter written to the New York Times that labeled Lloyd a "conscientious liar," but the damage had already been done. Across the country, newspapers handed down "guilty" verdicts against the Spring Valley Coal Company in the court of public opinion.[18]

A number of his friends suggested that Lloyd preserve his newspaper reports in "a more lasting form" as an aid to the overall cause of labor and Lloyd enthusiastically agreed. Over the winter of 1890 he recast his letters into a single, detailed description of the strike and its aftermath. The resulting manuscript was too long for an article or pamphlet so Lloyd submitted it to a Chicago publisher in April. At first the publisher refused, noting that "the people most interested are not book buyers." Lloyd responded by offering to pay for the composition, plates, and manufacture of the book and A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners: The Story of Spring Valley or An Open Letter to the Millionaires first appeared in mid-1890.[19]

Lloyd later dubbed A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners "my first and worst book." He confessed to a friend in 1897 how naive he had been in assuming that the company's directors would be shamed by the details of the strike. "I was younger then than I am now," he admitted. Nevertheless, his reporting style was powerful and effective and the book remains as an early example of the kind of journalism that would be considered specialized reporting in the twentieth century. For example, he concluded his description with a prediction that the business community needed to change its attitude toward labor, writing, "if you continue your war on the miners, if you pocket the profits that success will bring you....If you usurp for your private profit all these trusts and grants...you will but repeat the folly of your medieval exemplars whose castles now decorate a better civilization with their prophetic ruins."[20]

Despite Lloyd's subsequent misgivings, the book received a mixed response in the press. Favorable reviews appeared in the Chicago Herald, the London Labor World, the Dover (New Hampshire) Democrat, and the New York Commercial Advertiser. The latter noted, "if the story is true, and it bears every appearance of truth, the Spring Valley mine owners have been guilty of damnable treachery and cruelty to their fellow man." Samuel F. Gompers saw it as a "great way" to help all coal miners. Communist Frederick Engels thanked Lloyd for a copy and predicted that Spring Valley would be one of a growing number of strikes that would soon overthrow capitalism. One reader even compared it to Zola's influential Germinal. Others were less certain about the book's merits. The Chicago Tribune criticized its former writer once again, noting that the "laws of supply and demand are inexorable." Chicago-based naturalist writer Joseph Kirkland privately disputed Lloyd's facts and another reviewer dismissed it as "a chivalric effort for the defeated and downtrodden."[21]

Lloyd's book and resulting publicity helped restore the miners' resolve and new Spring Valley strikes broke out in 1891, 1897 and 1898. In addition, one of the workers effected by the original lockout was a young man named John Mitchell who eventually became the national leader of the United Mine Workers of America. A paperback version of Lloyd's book was printed in late 1890 and given away as a bonus for subscribing to a labor newspaper. Altogether, more than 1500 copies of A Strike of Millionaire's Against Miners were sold or distributed, hardly qualifying it as a best seller but adding to Lloyd's reputation as a labor reporter. For Lloyd, the last and best word on the Spring Valley situation came a dozen years after the book first appeared. He learned that a convention of Illinois and Indiana coal miners had offered a resolution of thanks to him for his Spring Valley efforts in 1889 but word of their motion had been inadvertently delayed. "Better late" he wrote his wife in 1902.[22]

Cooperativism and Newest England

The success of A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners provided Lloyd with a wide variety of labor leads that he could have pursued had he thought to do so. For example, various friends suggested that he investigate the working conditions of women and children. His coffin-maker friend suggested that Lloyd travel with him to Pennsylvania to report on the coal mines of the state, remarking, "I wish to God I had a photograph outfit and knew how to use it, I would like to show some interior views of manufacturer's "private offices" and their employee's houses" Lloyd also ignored subsequent requests to report on the well-known 1894 Pullman strike, the impact of free silver on workers and 1892 and 1899 labor disputes in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. He did follow up on one reporting opportunity. In 1900 he arranged to photograph a twelve-year old coal "breaker boy" holding his 32-cent bi-weekly paycheck and send copies to various newspapers. The picture showed the boy and what was left of his 4 cents per hour salary after deductions were made to pay for his invalid mother's rent.[23]

Lloyd did not want to make a career of reporting. Instead, he turned from a strict chronicler of the facts following A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners to more of a labor philosopher. Nevertheless, his experiences as a reporter were valuable to him, helping him to produce three books that touched on labor issues.

Lloyd eagerly joined the Populist Party in the early 1890s and spent several years trying to get labor to work with the agricultural elements of the new party, an effort that ultimately proved fruitless. Following the Populists defeated in the election of 1896, Lloyd turned out of frustration to another labor movement, cooperativism. Cooperatives, in which the stock and management of a company are owned by its workers, first appeared in the United States in the 1790s and reached unparalleled popularity during the 1880s but were in serious decline by 1896. Several cooperativists had joined the Populist party movement and befriended Lloyd, convincing him to learn more about their cause and help promote it.[24]

As a result, Lloyd attended an international cooperative conference in the Netherlands in 1897 and discovered that the British cooperative movement was in ascent in contrast to its American counterpart. He arranged with Henry Vivian, the secretary of the English Labour Copartnership Association, to visit working cooperatives in Great Britain on his return home. He filled a notebook with impressions, visiting farms, small stores, and factories and hurried back to Chicago to report his findings to American workers.[25]

The result a year later was his third book, Labor Copartnership. It concentrated on agricultural aspects of his visit rather than factories because Lloyd reasoned that cooperativism a better chance of initial success in America on farms. He chronicled his discoveries in a pleasing narrative style that was seriously slowed by statistics from official reports so that the book ended up as more of a text book than a journalistic endeavor. Throughout it, Lloyd heaped bountiful praise on English cooperativism in an effort to encourage a nationalistic reaction among Americans. He also emphasized the commonality of cooperativism and American democracy:

> The achievement of America in uniting in one common life and one cooperative citizenship the African and European and even Asiatic types which elsewhere glare at each other with hatred across frontiers of bayonets is the greatest triumph of cooperation which the history of civilization has yet shown....Cooperation can go on in America as in Great Britain and on the Continent....what cooperation needs here, as elsewhere, is not philanthropy, but leadership; not endowment, but initiative.[26]

Labor Copartnership sold better than Lloyd's first book but not as well as his second, Wealth Against Commonwealth, and his publisher reporting sales of nearly 1,700 copies in 1898. University of Chicago Professor Charles Zeublin rated it as the most important work economics that year. It also received favorable notices in commercial newspapers such as the New York Journal, New York Herald, Brooklyn Eagle, and the Chicago Times-Herald and reform publications such as The Kingdom, The Outlook and the Social Gospel. The Chicago Post's reaction was typical. It called the book a "blow to state socialism and a practical argument for individualism and private enterprise in the labor world." Lloyd's friends were less than pleased with the semi-official character of his text. One wrote, "when you were bringing your charges against the Standard Oil [in Wealth Against Commonwealth] it was better to have court decisions than clear and vivid statements from your own pen; but in describing English cooperation where your attitude was that of an observer, one page of your say so was worth a dozen from the officials of these societies." The most damning criticism of the book came from Samuel Gompers, who wrote Lloyd in 1899, "I think that there can be no question but that some of the very ablest men among the wage workers have been weaned from the trade union movement by reason of their connection with, and devotion to, cooperative associations....in fact, the cooperative societies of Great Britain have adopted trade union rules in their establishments only as many other employers have, through the force and demand of trade union action." As a result, Lloyd moved away from directly discussing cooperativism in subsequent writings.[27]

Lloyd's last serious effort at labor reporting was the result of an extended trip he took to Australia and New Zealand in 1899. Liberal intellectuals had been debating the prospects of Antipodean reforms such as compulsory arbitration and social security for a number of years but few had actually viewed them in operation. Lloyd conceived of the trip as an effort to show Americans what the future could hold. As he told one correspondent, "what is especially wanted at this point of our development is a focusing into one view of all the different things that are being done of, by and for the people in different parts of the world in different provinces of effort." He was unsure of how successful such an effort would be but told another writer, "whether we can get this economic readjustment by means of the reforms in progressive taxation, government ownership, land restoration, cooperation, etc. which are now being pushed with such success in New Zealand and England, I do not know. I think we are bound to make the effort...."[28]

His trip yielded enough information for two books along with a variety of articles and speeches but gave him a few journalistic anxieties. As he confided to one friend, his biggest concern was to report the reforms of New Zealand and Australia without "getting a reputation of being a [Baron] Munchausen," a reference to the famous eighteenth-century German calvary officer whose travelogues became synonymous with self-aggrandizement. He was also worried that Gompers and organized labor would kill the idea of compulsory arbitration before it could be properly presented to the public. Despite the concerns, he decided the best course was to "simply telling the truth." To do so, he refined the reporting technique that he had first applied in Labor Copartnership and wrote a straight-forward narrative supported by substantially less official statistics and explanations. He completed A Country Without Strikes in four months, intending that the book would introduce compulsory arbitration to American audiences. To do so he provided a look at the inner workings of an arbitration court that he visited and a historical comparison of arbitrated and non-arbitrated strikes in the country. He concluded that compulsory arbitration, not the voluntary form then under discussion in America, was the proper step, noting, "the greatest economic question involved in compulsory arbitration is whether property and business shall be distributed by the methods of reason and brotherliness or by the methods of force and greed...."[29]

The following summer he wrote a more thorough chronicle of his journey, Newest England: Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New England, with Some Australian Comparisons. In what was his best effort at writing, Lloyd punctuated his narrative with interesting observations, photographs, anecdotes and displayed a penchant for neither under-telling nor overstating his case that had marred many of his earlier works. The title did referred to the Newest Englands of the world, New Zealand and Australia, nations which Lloyd believed were more accurate embodiments of what the founding fathers and mothers of America had intended for this country. The result was a book that was "so much like a romance that I shall reread it immediately so as to get some of the facts to stick" as one of his friends confessed.[30]

Despite the immediacy of A Country Without Strikes and the breezy writing of Newest England, neither book was the commercial success that Lloyd desired. His publisher admitted to Lloyd in 1901, "they ought to have sold more...I wish we had known how to make them sell more." Still, some 2,600 copies of A Country Without Strikes were purchased by 1904 along with more than 2,400 copies of Newest England. Press reaction to A Country Without Strikes was largely favorable with a number of newspapers editorially endorsing compulsory arbitration in the wake of the book. Reviews of Newest England were more divided, with some newspapers such as the New York Journal hailing New Zealand as the world's "experimental station for advanced legislation" while others ridiculing the nation as "paternalism in government." Although neither were best sellers, they did succeed in introducing New Zealand to early twentieth-century American intellectuals and demonstrated how serious Lloyd was discussing the state of American labor.[31]

Conclusion

A Country Without Strikes and Newest England marked the end of Lloyd's efforts at labor reporting. His final few years were spent in various endeavors that had little to do with journalism or labor with one exception. In 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt suggested that the United Mine Workers of America, headed by President John Mitchell, sit down with eastern anthracite coal mine operators and arbitrate a national strike that had chilled the hearths of throughout the country. Mitchell remembered Lloyd's efforts in reporting and promoting the Spring Valley strike and invited him to join the miner's negotiating team, which was headed by attorney Clarence Darrow. Shortly before a final decision in the strike was to be issued, Lloyd posed for a portrait with Darrow and Mitchell and the resulting photograph was labeled "The Miners' Trinity." Lloyd journeyed with the other two men to a joyous reception in Chicago following the end of negotiations and addressed a cheering crowd of 6,000 miners and their supporters. Even though the final judgment was not as favorable to the miners as they had hoped, Lloyd told the gathering, "where [former President Grover] Cleveland gave us military usurpation and government by injunctions, Roosevelt has given us arbitration--the boldest and greatest act of recent statesmanship--a short cut across lots in the real American style."[32]

This paper has attempted to offer a case study of a Gilded Age journalist in search of specialization. As previously mentioned, it is clear that Henry Demarest Lloyd was not a true labor specialist as we understand the term today. Nor has it been a claim that he was the first to chronicle labor, a claim more properly fitting for the many labor newspapers of the nineteenth century and there is no doubt that Lloyd went beyond norms of objectivity in his reporting. Instead, it has been the contention of this effort that Lloyd's labor reporting career deserves to be looked at as part of the evolution of twentieth-century interpretative reporting and as an inspiration for the yet unwritten history of specialized labor reporting.

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31. Aaron Lloyd to HDL, December 3, 10, 1900; HDL to Aaron Lloyd, December 7, 1900; Walter H. Page to HDL, August 9, 1901; Frank Doubleday to HDL, September 27, 1901, October 3, 1902; and J.H. Steffee to HDL, n.d., circa 1902; all in HDL, Wisc.; sales records of *A Country Without Strikes* and *Newest England*, August 1, 1904, HDL, mf.

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Science and Sin: The Debate over Prize Fighting in Three Antebellum New York City Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

In the 1850s American middle-class reformers put renewed emphasis on the necessity and inseparability of moral and physical perfectibility. The impulse to achieve such perfection was fired in part by a nationalistic desire to stave off weakness of any sort and to return to the ideal of the physically fit Americans who forged the nation. Evangelical reformers were joined in this endeavor by newspaper and magazine editors, especially those in cities where urban growth was threatening physical health. The irony underlying such an impulse is that the most physically fit men in the United States were Irish immigrants or first-generation Irish-Americans who occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder and who were Catholics in a Protestant land. In 1858, Irish immigrant John Morrissey fought first-generation Irish-American John Heenan for the bare-knuckle prize fighting Championship of America, a bout that stirred considerable interest despite its illegality. Newspaper editors were faced with the dilemma of physical perfection being embodied in a lower-class immigrant who was engaging in an illegal event. This paper studies how the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Herald* and the *New York Clipper* covered the "science" of training for the fight. Greeley's *Tribune* treats the fight and the fighters as being inherently incapable of good, while Bennett's *Herald* praises the elements of training while decrying the fact of the fight itself. Frank Queen, the *Clipper* editor who came from the working class and gears his paper for the working-class reader, argues for the "improving recreational" benefits of fighting, adopting the rhetoric of the evangelical reformers to accomplish his end, as historians of journalism and sport have demonstrated. However, this paper argues that at the same time, and more importantly, Queen remains faithful to his and the sport's working-class background by locating the rhetoric of improvement in the seemingly contradictory context of an illegal, saloon-based activity. In so doing, Queen used his paper to represent and celebrate subcultural values that ran counter to the mainstream of American middle-class culture.

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On February 4, 1855, poet and novelist Bayard Taylor delivered a lecture titled "The Animal Man," the content and tone of which were becoming increasingly familiar to Americans who lived in the growing cities of the Eastern seaboard. Taylor was one of a bevy of strident reformers concerned with the physical and moral well-being of the nation. In his lecture, Taylor posed the question: "In the name of physiology - what sort of a man shall spring from the loins of those tallow-faced, narrow-chested, knock-kneed, spindle-shanked simpering sons of rich fathers whom we see every day?"[1]

Clearly, the answer is telegraphed in Taylor's string of double-barrelled adjectives that comprise the bulk of the question. In antebellum America, health and physical strength became an important issue, bringing together cultural impulses as varied as scientific evangelicalism, vegetarianism, water cures, an appreciation of the outdoors, improving forms of recreation, commercialism, both nationalism and nativism, and a belief in progress and the perfectibility of man.[2] Parlor exercise machines, that allowed the user to perform a type of weight training in the privacy of his or her home, were advertised as "a cure for nearly all diseases."[3] At least one writer went so far as to describe the era's greatest technological invention and symbol, the steam locomotive, in anthropromorphic terms that reflected a reverence for physical strength. A correspondent for Scientific American in 1851 wrote of a locomotive: "Oh, how I like to look upon those mighty iron arms heaving up and down or moving backwards and forwards at every heave of the steam giant's breast."[4]

Even in the realm of art, physical strength was symbolized, even mythologized. Horatio Greenough's 1847 statue of George Washington combined the muscular and nationalistic ideals by depicting the first president clad in a toga that revealed an idealized, powerful form and that served, as historian Harvey Green wrote, "as much a paean to a rediscovery of that particular type of human form as it was to Greek democratic politics."[5] Physical, national and moral strength were thought of as inseparable.[6]

The irony underlying this cultural obsession is that in the antebellum period the strongest man in America was usually not an American. Or at least not the kind of American Greenough had in mind when he conceived of his sculpture of Washington. The decades of the 1840s and 1850s saw the first great wave of immigration to America, especially from Ireland which was suffering in the throes of the potatoe famine.[7] The Irish settled in the urban Northeast, especially in Boston and New York City; and they brought with them the cultural baggage of their native land - customs such as a proclivity to heavy drinking and pugnacity.[8] And at least one Irish immigrant, James Ambrose, a New York saloonkeeper who became more widely known as Yankee Sullivan, brought with him a talent and zest for bare-knuckle prize fighting, a sport that was illegal in Massachusetts and was construed to be illegal under laws against riot, mayhem, disorderly conduct, assault and even manslaughter in other Northeastern states.[9] Prize fighting was popular in England and Ireland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and it exerted its greatest influence and appeal among the English aristocracy, which enjoyed the spectacle of two members of the working class battering each other senseless.[10] The sport, then, had an athletic heritage that rubbed American democrats the wrong way. In fact, Thomas Jefferson warned that a young American who goes to England for his education "learns drinking, horse racing and boxing."[11]

In addition to its association with decadent British aristocracy and its overt or construed illegality, the American manifestation of the sport carried the cultural stigma of being a product of an immigrant working class. As Peter N. Stearns, writing of working-class men in general, although his comments certainly apply to the Irish in America, noted in *Be a Man: Males in Modern Society*, "A vigorous subculture developed among working-class male youth, designed to prove masculinity through fighting, wenching, and sometimes drinking."[12] At a time when reformers were discarding old Puritanical attitudes toward sport and adopting rational or improving recreation, bare-knuckle prize fighting gained an undeniable popularity, especially in New York City.[13] And if a sure indicator of physical fitness were the ability to subdue another man with one's fists, none were more fit than at least some lower-class Irish immigrants.[14] New York City became the center for pugilistic activities, and the New York City press was faced with the dilemma of satisfying readers' demands for news about fighting while at the same time coming to terms with its illegality and immigrant origin.

This paper is an examination of how three newspapers dealt with that dilemma. Specifically, this paper examines how newspapers covered an aspect of prize fighting that exerted an appeal for most Americans--the fitness that resulted from training for the bout. I will attempt to show that in both news coverage of the fight and in editorials that focused on training and fitness arguments were made both in favor of the improving element of the sport, especially as it pertained to physical and moral strength, and against the practice of fighting as being inherently incapable of improving the condition, either physical or moral, of any man. Moreover, I will argue that it was not the middle-class editors of the more respectable and established newspapers who relied on the rhetoric of improving recreation, but the most vigorous arguments along such lines came from a publication that aimed at a working-class audience and that was edited by a member of that class, Frank Queen and his New York Clipper.

At least one religious reformer vilified Queen's publication as "obscene," but as Elliott J. Gorn wrote in The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America, "Surrounded by advertisements for contraceptives, venereal disease cures, even a `marriage guide' illustrated with seventy-five color engravings of human genitals, Clipper editorials argued that manly sports `improved' American society."[15] Gorn's introductory clause, I will argue, rather than pointing to an unseemly and incongruous sidelight to the editorials, speaks precisely to the point of the complexity and the essentially contradictory nature of popular culture. As John Fiske has pointed out in Reading the Popular, "(Popular culture) is tasteless and vulgar, for taste is social control and class interest masquerading as a naturally finer sensibility; it is shot through with contradictions, for contradictions require the productivity of the reader to make his or her sense out of them."[16] A full study of the Clipper would require that both the context of all the material of the paper and the content of specific editorials and stories be read together to show that Queen, rather than falling solely into the middle-class rhetoric of improvement, remains faithful to the values of the working class. In this paper I will narrow the focus to study the text and context of Clipper articles dealing with a specific fight. This sample will reveal that while adapting the middle-class notion of improvement to an immigrant and outlaw ritual, Queen also offered a more accurate picture of the condition of a man in an urban, working-class subculture and his relationship with the alien mainstream culture. In Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850, Sean Wilentz wrote of the Irish immigrants:

> For the refugees of the blighted handkerchief potato patch, the closest approximations to familiar cultural settings--the taverns, public markets, and street corners--were the most inviting gathering places. For Catholics in a Protestant city swept by various forms of nativism, the embrace of a Tammany ward heeler, of an aggressive church...of a vigilant Irish gang, could be most welcome.[17]

It was within and through such groups that the Irish celebrated their cultural values, and the Clipper, I will attempt to show, was one New York City newspaper that helped put an element of that celebration into print. In making this argument, I share James Carey's ritual view of communication with particular emphasis on the story as a "creation, representation, and celebration of shared beliefs."[18]

My sample of newspapers includes: the New York Tribune, which was founded in 1841 by Horace Greeley, a political Whig, the party opposed to popular rule; the New York Herald, which was founded in 1835 by James Gordon Bennett, a Scottish immigrant whose penchant for sensational news and attacks on the social elite made his publication both extremely popular and despised in various quarters; and the

New York Clipper, a weekly sporting and theatrical paper that was founded in 1853 by Queen, who came from a working-class background in Philadelphia.[19] In fact, in his column in the first edition of the Clipper on May 7, 1853, Queen wrote:

> We are...new beginners in this business, and though our means are extremely limited, we have no doubt the New York public, in this, as it has in many other instances, will aid us, and enable us to stem the popular current. Coming from among the masses, it is to them we mainly look for support....We can boast of no college education, and, therefore, cannot promise that vast fund of factual information, instruction and advice necessarily looked for from persons of class, yet....we will try to please.[20]

The method used to analyze the newspapers' passages on training will go beyond simple content analysis, which is an attempt to find out what is in a story. Rather, I will rely on a method of close-text analysis which attempts to go into the meaning of the text and beyond to its historical context. As literary critic Terry Eagleton explained: "Since metaphors are essentially `groundless,' mere substitutions of one set of signs for another, language tends to betray its own fictive and arbitrary nature at just those points where it is offering to be most intensely persuasive."[21] In other words, the point in the text where the metaphors or diction attempt to be most persuasive is the point that should be examined closely, not just for the words and images chosen, but also for what words and images that were, consciously or unconsciously, not chosen. Given a huge variety of choices, a writer chooses image A rather than image B or C, and the fact of that choice may be revealing. How this works in concrete will become clear when I analyze the newspaper passages.

I will examine coverage and editorials of training in the three newspapers based on the fight for the Championship of America (weight classes did not exist in most bare-knuckle fights) between Irish immigrant John (Old Smoke) Morrissey and first generation Irish-American John C. Heenan. To evade legal authorities, organizers staged the fight in Long Point, Canada, not far from Buffalo, New York. Although the bout involved two men of Irish descent (both of whom, in fact, grew up in Troy, New York), it took on ethnic overtones. Gorn wrote, "Morrissey was always the outlaw figure, a strutting braggart associated with corrupt politics, gang violence, and urban vice, while Heenan's persona was a little more compatible with the ideals of the 'respectable' working class....A bit less threatening than the swaggering Morrissey, Heenan was tentatively adopted as the representative of native-born Americans battling a vicious foreign foe."[22] It is important to note, though, that for a newspaper editor and publisher such as Greeley, Heenan and Morrissey were construed as being cut from the same bolt of flawed cloth. It is equally important to note that Heenan and Morrissey were not engaging in the fight for sheer recreation, which was one source of Greeley's irritation. They were professional prize fighters, a way of making a living that did not exist in America before Yankee

Sullivan's arrival in New York in 1841.[23] Morrissey and Heenan, in fact, were paid even for sparring exhibitions before the fight, Morrissey recieving as much as ¤2,500 for one such exhibition.[24] Both men also bet heavily on themselves. Both lived, especially Morrissey at this time, outside the social class of respectable, middle-class Americans, the class from which the rational reformers sprang and the class at which their sermonizing was directed. In *Be a Man*, Stearns wrote:

> Working-class manhood involved substantial contact with masculine traditions of physical prowess and grouping. It is hard to resist the notion that it was a more fundamental form of manhood than that of the office-working middle class. Though the middle class might lament and exaggerate the excesses of working men, a certain envy and understanding often accompanied their scorn.[25]

But there was little "envy and understanding" reflected in much of the coverage of the Heenan-Morrissey fight in the *Tribune* and the *Herald*. The *Tribune* of October 22 carried 110 inches of copy on the fight, noting early in the story that conspicuous among the crowd at Long Point were "scoundrels of every imaginable genus...displayed in all their devilish perfection."[26] The headline and subheadlines on the story read:

> THE GREAT PRIZE FIGHT
>
> Contest for the Championship
>
> MORRISSEY THE WINNER
>
> BRUTAL AND BLOODY BATTLE
>
> VIVID PICTURE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

The Tribune went on to paint the "vivid picture," but only, "In pursuance of our duty as a faithful recorder of the current events of the day...."[27] This is, of course, justification for covering the event. "No event for years has created so much interest in this city, and, indeed, throughout the country; a fact most disgraceful to any civilized country, but as a fact compelling us to recognize and record it."[28]

But the style in which the fight was recorded provides a glimpse into levels of "envy and understanding," to use Stearns' words, the fighters evoked even among the middle class as represented by the Tribune correspondent. All three newspapers included as part of their fight coverage long sections on how the men trained. Editorial misgivings, at least on the parts of the Tribune and the Herald, aside, it is in the training passages dealing with the physical and mental discipline of preparing for the fight that a possible melding of improving recreation and professional prize fighting can be found. The impulse to forge such an unlikely link appeared in American newspapers as early as 1849 when the Herald likened an upcoming fight between Yankee Sullivan and Tom Hyer to the first fight between Cain and Abel. But having drawn that Biblical analogy, the writer grasped for circumstances from which

> ...we, like the honey bee, which extracts sweet juices from the thistle of the desert, can draw something like a moral or a lesson. The self-denial, the temperance, the daily exercise, the beautiful regimen which both

> boxers underwent...present the elements of a system of life which is equal to any system of morality or human conduct...If both combatants...adopt the system of living which they practiced in training - and if they were to add to that a little of true religion - we say, in spite of their past life, they would be in regular training for a life of immortal happiness hereafter.[29]

Training, then, was a morality play from which, the editorial implies, not only can the boxers but "we," all readers, can draw a real lesson that will reap rewards in eternity - if we add a "little of true religion."

Nine years later on the occasion of the Heenan-Morrissey fight, the Tribune wrote of their training:

> The training program lasts from a fortnight to several months, and is undergone for the purpose of getting the man into the most perfect bodily condition of health and strength. To this end he is put under the care of a trainer, whose business it is, first, to know exactly how to train his man into the required condition, and secondly, to see that his pupil adopt every means calculated to send him into the field the very perfection of a human animal. What boxers need to obtain by training is the highest degree of strength, activity, skill in tactics of offense and defense, wind, or capability of long-continued physical exertion without exhaustion, and bottom, or the power of receiving punishment without being thereby incapacitated for continued hostilities. The very consciousness of possessing these qualities tends to an increase of bravery that doesn't know when it is whipped.[30]

Before analysing the paragraph from the Tribune, I would like to present a paragraph of similar length from the Herald.

> When the Benicia Boy (Heenan) put himself in the hands of his trainers at Rock Cottage he weighed two hundred and sixteen pounds avoirdupois, which has been reduced to about one hundred and ninety-five pounds, which reduction was brought about by walking, running, use of the dumbells, sparring

> with his trainers and others, fighting the bag, &c. He usually rose about half past four in the morning, and retired at night around nine o'clock to rest. The training process to which Heenan was subjected embodied the following principles, vis: - Evacuation for th(e) purpose of cleansing the stomach and intestines - sweating, for the purpose of removing fatty humor - exercise for strengthening the muscles - and suitable regimen for nourishing the body.[31]

We are immediately struck by the more visceral nature of the Herald's description contrasted with the Tribune's: "Evacuation for th(e) purpose of cleansing the stomach and intestines - sweating, for the purpose of removing fatty humor." In terms of imagery, there is a person present in the Herald's story, a sweating, dieting man who, it seems, induces vomiting to reach a physically cleansed state. Moreover, and this is a significant difference in the two passages, that man has a name in the Herald's version, albeit a nickname, "the Benicia Boy."

The Tribune's treatment is less imagistic, more impersonal. Neither fighter is named. Rather, the Tribune's writer uses the passive voice ("...is undergone for the purpose..."), which avoids using a subject that is the doer of the training. The Tribune evokes a disembodied presence: "The very consciousness of possessing these qualities...." And it uses only third person, relying on "man" twice, "pupil" once, "boxers" once and on only one occasion resorting to a term that may be considered earthy, "the very perfection of a human animal." And even then the noun "animal" is balanced with the noun "perfection."

The Tribune's account of training covers about six column inches, and not only does the reporter remove the personal element from his account, he also removes the time element as much as possible. Rather than refer to actual preparations for the fight in Canada, he relies on the contrasting metaphors of "ancients" and "moderns." "The ancients knew a good deal of the science of training, though the moderns have improved on them in this as in other respects. In Rome, those who designed to cut a figure at the public games were required to exercise daily in the Gymnasium for ten months."[32] In many respects, this is a confusing metaphor. If the reference were to Greece and training for the "public games," then it would seem that the writer is evoking an Olympian image. But he specifically mentions Rome, which seems to suggest gladiatorial contests to the death.[33] If that is his intention, the image would seem to be pejorative. In an editorial on October 22, the Herald refers to the "carnival of the gladiators" in a decidedly demeaning fashion.[34] Even when complimenting the improvements the moderns have made on the "science of training," the Tribune is ambivalent.

The reference to "science" recurs in the Tribune coverage. After citing the necessity for "the attainment of skill in tactics of offense and defense," the report concludes: "These various exercises are kept up unremittingly until the day of the fight, when the man should be brought into the field in the most perfect health and with every muscle of the body developed to the utmost, and with all the skill and science which long practice and careful teaching can give."[35]

The key words in this sentence are: "every muscle...developed to the utmost"; "skill and science"; "long practice and careful teaching." Clearly, these are the virtues of rigorous training. And these are virtues that can be attained, to some degree, by any man willing to put himself through a training regimen. It is important to note here that while bare-knuckle prize fighting was illegal and considered immoral, the more gentlemanly practice of sparring, in which combatants wore gloves and mastered the "science of pugilism," was encouraged by many physical reformers. Noting the need for gentlemen in cities to "defend themselves from unprovoked attacks," presumably attacks launched by members of the lower, dangerous class, Gorn wrote: "Some sparring masters explicitly sought an elite clientele. Boxing lessons were healthful for individuals in sedentary - respectable - occupations."[36] Not only did such pugilistic training enable a gentleman to fend off attacks in the streets, it also provided, in his own social circle, an alternative to duelling with firearms. The New York Clipper, in fact, uses precisely that argument in a commentary on the extensive coverage of the Heenan-Morrissey fight by "the gentlemen connected with the respectable press of this city." The Clipper wrote:

> We are highly pleased to notice a disposition on the part of our "respectable contemporaries" to

> assist us in promulgating the doctrines of the fancy, and trust that their efforts to foster a love for the science of manual defence may be the means of inducing our Congressmen, Senators, etc., to give up the use of the knife, the bludgeon, and pistol, for the more fair and manly "bunch of fives."[37]

The "bunch of fives," of course, is a fighting term for a closed fist, and the Clipper uses the adjectives "fair" and "manly" to refer to the lower-class practice of bare-knuckle fighting, contrasting, at the same time, the fist with the weapons used to settle disputes among "our Congressmen, Senators, etc." Bare-knuckle fighting, the Clipper argues, is a moral alternative to the upper-class practice of duelling. Immediately below that story, an editing placement that was no doubt not coincidental, the paper ran an announcement of the forming of a new sporting club in the city.

> An association of young men have just formed themselves together for the purpose of perfecting themselves in those various exercises which conduce to the physical and moral imporvement of man. The exercises will consist of sparring, boxing, skating, gymnastics, singing, dancing, etc, and it is also contemplated to give dramatic performances.[38]

The path to "physical and moral improvement" for a young man will take him through "dramatic performances" as well as sparring and boxing. And, as the Clipper notes, these are activities designed for "young men," not young gentlemen.

Ironically, while in this instance the Clipper strives for a moralistic tone, one use it sees for the science of fighting does not quite fit into the realm of improving recreation. On the front page of its November 6, 1858, issue (under a masthead that read, in part: "Sports! Sports! Exercise! Exercise! Exercise! New York Clipper: The Recognized Sporting Journal of America, and Advocate of Physical and Mental Recreations for the People"), the weekly ran a long bit of verse attributed only to "A Resucitated Contributor." The poet, it seems, was resucitated in time to write "Science Versus Size" after suffering a beating in a barroom fight with a smaller man skilled in the science of fighting. At one point, the poet, who admits to being six-feet, two-inches tall and weighing two-hundred-and-twenty pounds, describes the setting of the encounter and his adversary.

> Now once on a time, I went on a spree,
> And got just as jolly as mortals may be;
> I happened to go in a bar-room down stairs,
> To have one more snifter to drown my cares,
> When I saw a young fellow a-putting on airs-
> At least, such was *my* calculation;
> A puny young fellow, quite scrawney and lean,
> With the thinnest calves that ever were seen.[39]

Before long, he splashed a brandy in the "puny young fellow's" face in order to provoke a fight, which he got.

> It was `one, two, three!' as quick as a sneeze;
> He blacked both my eyes with the greatest ease,
> And polished me off as neat as you please.
> 'Gainst Science, Size hadn't a ghost of a show,
> And he started my claret at every blow.[40]

The word "claret," of course, is a metaphor for blood, and it is also an ironic commentary on the fact that our narrator was drunk. Especially significant in this context, though, is the use of "Science" not as a means toward the end of an improving recreation or as a step on the road to progress or human perfectibility. Rather, "Science" comes to the aid of a smaller man in a barroom fight. His use of "Science" saves him from a beating and embarrassment, but he uses it not in a gymnasium, a parlor or any controlled or polite setting. He uses "Science" in a saloon fight. It is American pragmatism at its best and serves, in many ways, as a precursor to the twentieth century Charles Atlas ads in which the larger bully kicks sand in the 95-pound weakling's face, only to get his come-uppance after a few weeks of `scientific' training on the Atlas kit. The point of the Clipper verse, however, is not to sell a training device. Instead, the verse is celebratory, a representation and celebration of the shared beliefs of the subculture built around prize fighting.

The Tribune, however, neither shared nor celebrated any of those same beliefs. The Tribune rejected the notion of prize fighting's being a morally acceptable displacement of duelling, and it even rejected the notion of sparring's being a path to moral and physical improvement. In an editorial on the day it devoted five columns to fight coverage, Greeley's publication wrote:

> There is an argument in favor of the Prize Ring, which, poor and flimsy as it is, we are willing enough to state. It is said that where Pugilism is encouraged the use of dangerous weapons is discontinued. If this were true, we should be willing to give the fact its legitimate value. But it is notoriously untrue. The circle of men in which daggers, bludgeons, slung shot and steel-

> knuckles are used is the circle in which professed pugilists live and move and have their being. Whatever, in other days, the ring may have been - however, in other times and other lands, it may have received the countenance and support of distinguished men, and even of cultivated men...it must be admitted that its quasi respectability is gone....It is all a miserable imbroglio of bad rum, brutality, profanity and vulgarity: a carnival of debasement, dirtiness and animal passions; a hell of low instincts, dirty jealousies and damnable excitement.[41]

The Tribune rejects any and all arguments in favor of prize fighting, lumping the fighters together with the patrons of the ring, the city's criminal element. Significantly, it also strikes the nationalistic theme that fighting may have been countenanced "in other times and other lands," but it must be summarily rejected by decent Americans. Not only was fighting dominated by Irish immigrants at this time, but gambling was also coming under the control of the Irish, further entangling the knot the Tribune ties between fighting, the criminal element and Irish immigrants.[42]

The editorial is thorough in that it tries to account for the tremendous popularity of the Heenan-Morrissey fight among even the middle class.

> Of course when a pair of these beautiful creatures have determined to come together and to pound each other, there will be two classes who will be interested. The first is those who follow the same business...who fight when they must, or who talk, in their cups, of fighting; the second is of those weak people who are determined to be interested in whatever makes a general bruti. We have no particular admiration for either set. It would be hoping against hope that this business may disgust society as it should. Fools will continue to bet money which may or may not belong to them, and

> bullies will continue to swagger and strut and abuse the good gift of physical strength.[43]

Physical strength is acknowledged to be a "good gift," but in prize fighting it is abused by swaggering "bullies." As for those who show an interest in the fights, they are dismissed as either criminals or, consistent with the imagery of strength that is both physical and moral, "weak people." American society, the Tribune seems to suggest, has no room for such weak people or for those who abuse their strength. Interestingly, though, the editorial offers no positive alternative for developing physical and moral strength, other than to abstain from anything associated with prize fighting.

In this same vein, the editorial excoriates the newspapers, such as the Clipper, that argue in favor of fighting.

> We have read the most respectable sporting papers. We have read the most decent reports of the most decent fights. It all comes to the same thing. No amount of fine writing - no pretension of aiming at physical development - no cant of preventing assassination - can save the Prize Ring from the condemnation of all good men. And we do not use the phrase "good men" in any conventional sense. We will admit as good all who like fair play, gentlemanly demeanor, and honest and honorable dealing. The Prize Ring, with all its bloody brutalities, its show of science, and its pretense of fair play, has been abolished by the Legislatures, and discarded by the generous and manly, because there was in it that irresistible proclivity to baseness, against which rules, codes, regulations, esprit de corps and conventional honor were impotent.[44]

The passage dismisses science and pretensions of physical fitness, but it is most illuminating when it claims that fighting was "discarded by the generous and manly, because there was in it that irresistible proclivity to baseness..." against which "conventional honor" is impotent. Again, the writer relies on the strength and weakness metaphor; and, evidently, only the "generous and manly" are able to resist the "irresistible proclivity to baseness" inherent in fighting. Precisely how they resist it is not made clear, nor, perhaps, is it as important as the tone of the writing. It is paternalistic, striking the note that we who are "generous and manly" are simply trying to protect the weak masses from sliding into a debased state. In that sense, the imagery is Calvinistic, balancing, as it does, the extreme alternatives of salvation and damnation. In The Horrors of the Half-Known Life, G.J. Barker-Benfield cited Henry Ward Beecher's lecturing on moral dangers to a young man's character, a young man who is so vulnerable and disposed to evil that "once the first step was taken, the youth would be committed to a life of degeneracy and sin."[45]

The tone, indeed, may go beyond paternalism and residual Calvinism to patriotism and a warning against the threat of the dangerous immigrant class. In these words there is no "envy and understanding" of the physicality of the working-class male. In fact, the editorial concludes by wishing for the death in the ring of people such as Morrissey and Heenan. "The death of some combatant in the ring may dampen the ardors of sucking Morrisseys and of callow Heenans. Until that blessed example is vouchsafed to the turbulent and pugnacious, we must, we suppose, submit to the impotency of legislation."[46] Again, the writer relies on religious diction, "blessed example" and "vouchsafed," and the evocation of physical strength and weakness, "impotency of legislation." Can the latter image be read as sexual? It may not be pushing the imagery too far to make such a claim. Barker-Benfield dealt with the writings of the Reverend John Todd, who was concerned with the submersion or disappearance of what he termed "our native population" in the period before and after the Civil War. On the threat of urban masses, Barker-Benfield quoted Todd as being "disgusted by the mobs and rowdies in New York City, draggling and wrangling around the ballot boxes," further citing Todd as writing, "It may be a misfortune that property does not now vote, but not so great a misfortune to the world as to have the sex go out of their sphere and enter into political life."[47] Urban politicians employed fighters as "shoulder hitters," or men who used strong-arm tactics to influence voters.[48] The possible connection between Heenan and a sexual threat to the American middle class is dealt with in John Dizikes' Sportsmen and Gamesmen, especially in his chapter which deals with the marriage in 1859 of Heenan and the notorious "naked lady" of the American popular stage, Adah Isaacs Menken.[49] The irony again is obvious: the embodiments of male and female perfection were not only "foreigners" (Adah Isaacs Menken was the daughter of Jewish immigrants) but were members of a dangerous and depraved class. Heenan and Menken were introduced, not coincidentally, shortly after Heenan's fight with Morrissey by Frank Queen in the office of the New York Clipper, where Menken went to seek advice and consolation after Greeley's Tribune berated her as being in need of "taming down."[50]

Examining the diction, imagery and tone of the Tribune's training passage and editorial leaves little doubt where that publication stood on the issue of bare-knuckle prize fighting. What little virtue the Tribune saw in rigorous training was greatly outweighed by what it perceived to be the evil threat posed to decent society by the class of individuals involved in the sport.

The Herald, on the other hand, condemned fighting editorially while at the same time trying, like the honey bee in the desert to which its 1849 editorial alluded, to extract some glimmer of salvation in the training regimen. Perhaps that was a moral quest spurred only by a need to justify the newspaper's extensive coverage of the fight. Perhaps it was a sincere quest. Most likely, it was a combination of the two factors.

The Clipper, as would be expected of a publication devoted to sporting and theatrical news, argued most strongly of the three for the improving nature of prize fighting. Queen was shrewd enough to graft the new ideology of physical fitness to fighting and to add to it the appeal to morality inherent in his argument that settling a dispute with a "bunch of fives" was superior to duelling.

It should be clear from this analysis that the most culturally significant fights about the morality and virtues, or lack thereof, of prize fighting were conducted not in the ring but in newspaper columns. Gorn wrote, "The flowering of pugilism was a cultural statement opposing the efforts by the middle class to reshape the world in its own image."[51] If that were the case, the values of the American middle class are represented most clearly in the Tribune. They are values that reflect support for the evangelical reformers' insistence on the inseparability of moral and physical perfection, but the Tribune's coverage reveals no support for the immigrant embodiments of physicality. The Tribune never resolves the tension it sees in prize fighting between physical fitness and what it construes to be moral weakness. The writing in Greeley's newspaper in 1858 may be symptomatic of a middle-class Victorian culture that was coming to grips with an irreconcilable tension in its professed values. Indeed, after 1850, as Karen Halttunen points out in Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870, the middle class was beginning to acknowledge that the "struggle for genteel status...was a confidence game" in much the same sense that the disguises and slick language of the con artists of the streets were part of a different kind of confidence game.[52]

In the journalistic debate over the morality of bare-knuckle prize fighting, though, by far the most intriguing position is the one held by Queen and his Clipper. John R.

Betts, in his article "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-Century America," credits the Clipper with being the most important of the sporting journals of the time; and, Betts wrote, "It was one of the few journals that strove to defend the prize ring."[53] But Queen does more than "defend the prize ring" by stressing the improving nature of the sport. He uses his newspaper to represent and celebrate the values of prize fighting, values such as physical strength, discipline, determination and even moral strength. And, unlike the treatment his "respectable contemporaries" of New York City journalism give prize fighting, Queen celebrates these values spawned by the sport in their real and, to a great extent, contradictory context--that of the working-class saloon subculture. If, as Fiske maintains, "taste is social control and class interest masquerading as a naturally finer sensibility," the vulgarity of the Clipper's pages serves as a rebellious challenge to the middle-class, even to middle-class reformers who sought to tear the physical fitness they saw in prize fighting from its subcultural setting.

ENDNOTES

1. Quoted in John A. Lucas, "Thomas Wentworth Higginson: Early Apostle of Health and Fitness," *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*, 42, (February, 1971) p. 30.

2. Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986), p. 66. A number of scholars have dealt with the impulse to strive for physical and moral perfectibility in antebellum America. For a discussion of how the reform impulse was applied to the people of the street and recent immigrants, see Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), especially Chapter 10, "The Uses of the Streets," in which she argues that "moral reform reached a new pitch in the 1850s."

3. Green, p. 199.

4. Quoted in John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 140.

5. Green, p. 96.

6. See Green; Lucas; Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976), especially "Part IV," "Nation Building, 1843-1856."

7. See Michael T. Isenberg, *John L. Sullivan and His America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 28. See also Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949), especially Chapter V, "Tenement Life."

8. Isenberg, especially Chapter One, "Heritage," and Chapter Two, "Sullivan's Boston: The Urban World and the Cult of Masculinity." See also Ernst, Chapter IX, "Consciousness of Kind."

9. Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1986, p. 103 and 273.

10. For an account of prize fighting's popularity among British aristocracy, see J.C. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), especially Chapter III, "The World of the Fancy." See also Randy Roberts, "Eighteenth Century Boxing,"

Journal of Sport History, 4, no. 3, (Fall, 1977), pp. 246-259.

11. Gorn, p. 59.

12. Peter J. Stearns, Be a Man: Males in Modern Society (New York: Holmes & Meier, Inc., 1970), p. 63.

13. Adelman, especially Chapter 9, "Pedestrianism, Billiards, Boxing and Animal Sports."

14. John Duffy, A History of Public Health in New York City, 1625-1866 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), especially Part III, "The City Overwhelmed," in which Duffy cites statistics on the poor health and fraility of the mass of Irish immigrants, an indication that the physically powerful prize fighters were exceptions among their class. In addition, both John Morrissey and John Heenan grew up not in New York City but up the Hudson River in Troy.

15. Gorn, p. 101.

16. John Fiske, Reading the Popular (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 6.

17. Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford UP, 1984), p. 352.

18. James Carey, "Mass Communication Research and Cultural Studies: An American View," in Gurevitch, M.T. Bennett, J. Curran and J. Woolacott, Culture, Society and the Media (London: Metheun, 1982), p. 412. Carey makes the same point in "A Cultural Approach to Communication," collected in Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

19. See Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America, 5th ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), especially Chapter 10, "A Press for the Masses," for an account of the founding and development of the Tribune and the Herald. On Queen and his working-class background, see Gorn, p. 100.

20. New York Clipper, May 7, 1853, p. 2. Hereafter all references to the Clipper will be listed simply as NYC.

21. Terry Eagleton, Literary Theory: An Introduction (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983, p. 145. See also Paul de Man, The Resistance to Theory (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), especially chapter titled, "Reading and History."

22. Gorn, pp. 116-117. In its coverage of the fight, the Tribune wrote: "The colors of the two men were worn by their seconds. Morrissey's seconds wore a blue handkerchief with a delicate white spot, and Heenan's colors were the stars and stripes, in red, white and blue." NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

23. From a pamphlet titled American Fistiana, quoted in the New York Herald, Feb. 9, 1849, p. 1. Hereafter all references to the Herald will be listed as NYH.

24. Gorn, p. 116.

25. Stearns, p. 59.

26. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

27. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

28. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

29. NYH, Feb. 9, 1849, p. 2.

30. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

31. NYH, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 1.

32. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

33. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

34. NYH, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 3.

35. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 5.

36. Gorn, p. 48.

37. NYC, Nov. 20, 1858, p. 242.

38. NYC, Nov. 20, 1858, p. 242.

39. NYC, Nov. 6, 1858, p. 225.

40. NYC, Nov. 6, 1858, p. 225.

41. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 4.

42. Gorn, p. 125.

43. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 4.

44. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 4.

45. G.J. Barker-Benfield, The Horrors of the Half-Known

Life: Male Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 141.

46. NYT, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 4.

47. Barker-Benfield, p. 205.

48. Gorn, p. 135. For an account of the role of prize fighters in New York City politics, see Wilentz, Chapter 9, "Subterranean Radicals"; see also, Jerome Mushkat, Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865 (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1971).

49. John Dizikes, Sportsmen and Gamesmen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1981), see Chapter 8, "John C. Heenan and Adah Menken." See also, Stansell, Chapter 5, "Women and Men."

50. Alan Lloyd, The Great Prize Fight (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1977), p. 41.

51. Gorn, p. 29.

52. Karen Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982), p. 186.

53. John R. Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-Century America," American Quarterly, V, (Spring, 1953), p. 43.

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Hojas Volantes:

The Beginning of Print Journalism in the Americas

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HOJAS VOLANTES:
The Beginning of Print Journalism in the Americas

Hojas volantes or "flying sheets" are the earliest examples of print journalism in the Americas. Unlike modern newspapers, these news sheets appeared irregularly and usually covered only one news event. The oldest extant *hoja* is a report of an earthquake and storm that devastated Guatemala City in 1541.[1] Its headline (*Relación del espantable terremoto que ahora nuevamente ha acontecido en las Indias en una ciudad llamada Guatemala*)[2] is obviously long for current tastes, but its reporting is surprisingly modern and thorough. Its lead (*On Saturday, September 10, 1541, at 2 in the night...*) goes on to relate the destruction of both life and property. In great detail the report lists the victims, their occupations, and their families, and relates, when possible, how they died.

While mostly factual, the eight-page *hoja volante* reported more than facts. Religion was an important part of 16th century life; therefore, it is not surprising that the *hoja* editorialized as follows. "We have attributed it to our sins because we do not know how nor from where came such a great tempest."[3] The *hoja* went on to report some of the remedies the clergy had prescribed for the disaster. "In order to placate the wrath of God, the Bishop held a procession the next morning, and said many masses at the main altar with much devotion and encouraged them and gave them strength. He told them that God had taken the good people to glory and that those remaining were left for testing and, that we should fear death at all times."[4]

This calamity is long forgotten, but México and Guatemala still argue over who should get credit for this particular *hoja*, which if not the first precursor of newspapers in the New World, is certainly the oldest surviving one. Both countries have a good claim. The *hoja* was published by Juan Pablos, a México City printer, five years after the first printing press was introduced to that city, but the earthquake occurred on Guatemalan soil and was reported by Juan Rodríguez, an *escribano* (notary public) living in Guatemala.[5]

It must, however, be remembered that this is a 20th century debate. In 1541, only twenty years after Cortés's conquest of the Aztec empire, there was little or no distinction between Mexicans and Guatemalans; there were only Spaniards. Therefore, most authorities credit México City, the viceregal capitol of Nueva España (New Spain), as the birthplace of journalism in the Western Hemisphere, especially since the vast majority of Spanish American *hojas volantes* in the colonial period were published in México City.

American journalism historians, with a few exceptions, have neglected the contributions of Spanish America in the founding of journalism in the New World. This study, based primarily on the excellent collection of 17th century *hojas volante*s held by the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, will attempt to rectify this situation and will analyze the audience, format, content, sources, and style of these forerunners of modern journalism. For the purposes of this paper, only *hojas volante*s that were printed in Nueva España will be studied. But before examining the *hojas* in greater detail, a word or two should be said about printing.

After Johann Gutenberg used movable type to print his Bible in Germany in 1456, printing presses spread throughout Europe. Before the end of the 15th century, there were print shops in all the countries that would eventually colonize the New World. European kings were quick to recognize the religious and political ramifications of the printing press; and licensing, prior restraint, and seditious libel soon reared their ugly heads. Publishing "under authority" from the government, plus ecclesiastical censorship, retarded the development of journalism in Spanish America for centuries.

Despite possible royal apprehension, Nueva España's first bishop, the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, convinced Emperor Carlos V of the need for both a library and a printing press. In a 1533 memorial addressed to the king, Zumárraga wrote: "Because the greatest need experienced by the Church and all the land is that of a good library to solve the doubts and questions that arise daily, I beg Your Highness and Lords to order and command what portion of the tithes shall be used for the purchase (of books) and expenses thereof."[6] In another memorial dated the same year Zumárraga wrote that "it seems it would be a useful and convenient thing that there should be a printing press and a paper mill in that country." Noting that there were people interested in going to México, Zumárraga requested that "His Majesty should grant them some aid to enable them to implant this art."[7] This last memorial, which is in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, has notes in the margin which directed officials to grant transportation expenses and the necessary privileges to New Spain's first printer.[8]

There is disagreement about the exact date the first printing press was introduced to México, but a letter from Bishop Zumárraga to the Emperor, dated May 6, 1538, confirms that there was a printer and a printing press in México at least by that time.[9] Most Mexican authorities agree that the printing press was brought to México in 1536, almost one hundred years before printing was introduced to the English colonies.[10] There is also general agreement that the first printer was Esteban Martín.

The books that Martín and later printers published were primarily religious texts and tracts in both Latin and Spanish. As part of the Church's proselytizing efforts, bilingual books in Spanish and native tongues such as Nahuatl and Tarascan were also printed. Although there are no extant copies, most authorities believe the earliest books were the *Escala Espiritual para llegar al cielo, traduccion del latín al castellano por el ven. padre Juan de Estrada* which was published in México in 1535 and a *Catecismo Méxicano* which was published two years later in 1537.[11]

Although religious titles predominated, a variety of other topics were covered. Early 19th century American printer and press scholar Isaiah Thomas wrote that since the press was "under the absolute control of government, we might expect to find the catalogue of Spanish American publications confined within narrow limits; but the fact is, that the works which treat of religion, history, morals, and classical works, which in that country have been printed, are numerous."[12] Agustín Agüeros de la Portilla, a Mexican expert on Spanish American printing, mentioned other books that dealt with medicine, law, and the military and naval arts.[13] By the end of the 16th century, almost 250 books had been published in México.[14]

Throughout the colonial period the government maintained strict control over printing. Books had to be approved by censors in Spain before they could be published. This usually resulted in an expensive and lengthy process.[15]

Although book publishing dominated most of the colonial period, the presses were also used in the founding of Spanish American journalism. However, the development of Mexican journalism was relatively slow. The first regularly published periodical, *Gaceta de México,* wasn't started until 1722. In contrast, Benjamin Harris published the first American newspaper, *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic,* in Boston on September 25, 1690. Meant to be a monthly, it was suppressed after only one issue. Fourteen years later in 1704, the *Boston News-Letter*, the nation's first consecutively published newspaper, was published by John Campbell.

Hojas Volantes

History

As noted above, there were no newspapers *per se* in México from 1519 to 1722, but by the middle of the 16th century, *hojas volantes* were frequently published and sold by printers in México City, and they really came into their own in the 17th century. *Hojas* were often referred to as *relaciones* or reports, and these terms will be used interchangeably in this paper. These Latin American news sheets were patterned after Spanish *relaciones* which were first printed in the early 16th century. Reporting important events in Spain, the Spanish models included the "exact dates and times, details and protocol of the period, and insights into the tastes and styles of the century," according Henry F. Schulte, an expert on the Spanish press.[16]

The *relaciones* also shared some similarities with *corantos*, news sheets which were first published in Holland around 1620. The *corantos* were created to provide merchants with foreign and commercial news. *Corantos* spread to England in 1621 where the people were hungry for news about the Thirty Years War, but they were eventually replaced after about twenty years by diurnals, daily reports of domestic and local events involving the king and parliament.[17] Spanish American *hojas*, unlike the *corantos*, didn't carry commercial news, but, like their European counterparts, they reported foreign affairs extensively. Their lifespan was also longer; the *hojas*, which predated the *corantos*, remained popular into the 18th century.

The Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin

Most of the rest of this study is based on the extensive collection of 17th century *hojas, relaciones*, and *gazetas* that is housed in the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin. One of the most impressive of their holdings is the Joaquín García Icazbalceta Collection which has perhaps the rarest examples of this genre outside Latin America.[18] To get a better understanding of these newspaper prototypes, there will be frequent reference to this collection which consists of two volumes of 208 examples dating from 1610 to 1703. They can tell us a lot about the men and women who produced them, what they considered newsworthy, how they gathered their information, how they formatted, copy edited, and designed their product, and how the *hojas* gradually developed the characteristics of the newspaper over time.

What was considered newsworthy?

Perhaps it is a good idea to discuss what an *hoja* or *relación* was not. It wasn't, for example, "news" in the sense of being topical. The sea voyage from Europe usually took many months. By the time Mexican printers reprinted the "news" from Europe, it was definitely dated. Even local stories, because of poor internal transportation and communication, were not timely.

Most of the *hojas* reported European news. Little was written about local events and personalities in comparison. There are several possible reasons for this. Most of the early colonists planned to make their fortune in New Spain and retire to Spain; therefore, they wanted to keep up on events at home. Even the ones who decided to stay were homesick for news of Spain. Henry Lepidus, in his pioneering study of journalism in México, argued that life was so calm and serene in New Spain that there wasn't enough local news to print.[19] It seems more probable that licensing and censorship made it wiser to report foreign news that had already been authorized.

As a consequence, colonial *relaciones* featured safe subjects such as births, deaths, and marriages in the royal houses of Europe; for obvious reasons, most of this type of news covered the Spanish royal family. For example, the birth and baptism of Princess Margarita María; the illness, death, and burial of Philip IV; the last wills and testaments of Philip III and Charles II; and the wedding of María Teresa, the infanta of Spain, to Louis XIV were chronicled.[20]

The political machinations of kings, including their wars, were also of interest to colonial readers. During the 17th century most of Europe was at war, and New World readers were anxious to learn about European battles and wars as well as pirate attacks and naval confrontations with the Dutch or English in their part of the world. Of special interest were the war with Turkey, the Portuguese rebellion, and Spain's status in the Netherlands. Spanish Americans also wanted to be apprised of the activities of the French and English.[21] During those rare moments when Europe was at peace, peace treaties were published. A peace treaty between Spain and England was reported in 1668 as was another one between Spain and France in 1679.[22]

Although the conquest of México began in 1519, the conquest of the rest of the Americas continued well into the 17th century, and colonial readers in México City wanted to keep abreast of Spain's expansion. In fact, the first *hoja* in the García Icazbalceta collection, dated 1610, deals with the conquest of Indians to the northwest in the viceroyalty of Nueva Vizcaya.[23]

Royal appointments (*provisiones y mercedes*) were also newsworthy. In addition to appointing political officials such as vice-roys, captains-general, and members of the *audiencia*, Hapsburg and Bourbon monarchs made ecclesiastical appointments. *Hojas* began listing both types of appointments after 1650 and continued to list them for both Nueva España and Perú almost every year and occasionally listed appointments in Spain and the Pacific.[24]

With the close interaction between the state and the church, *relaciones* also carried a lot of religious news. These stories ran the gamut from the death of a Pope to miracles. Church leaders were sometimes profiled, and religious festivals were described in detail. One *hoja*, for example, chronicled the founding of a Carmelite convent in Mexico City.[25] Another reported the state of Christianity in China. Because of the Counter-Reformation, stories of Protestants who converted to Catholicism were of great interest to readers. When the Queen of Sweden, Christina Adolfo, renounced her faith and crown and moved to a convent in Spain, it made good colonial copy.[26]

Ordinary news events were often given a religious slant. For instance, *hojas* covering the war with the Turks frequently editorialized that the Church would ultimately triumph.[27] Even the report of a comet sighting in Constantinople in 1670 was viewed as an omen of a Christian victory against the Turks.[28]

Since there wasn't always a clear distinction between fact and fancy, it's not surprising that *relaciones* about miracles (visions, cures, etc.) were popular. For example, a 1640 *hoja* reported that Santo Domingo cured a deaf and mute child. Published by Juan

Ruiz, the complete title reads "Brief Relation of the Miraculous and Celestial Image of Saint Dominick, Patriarch of the Order of Preachers, Brought from Heaven by the hand of the Virgin Our Lady. To the Convent that the said Order of Preachers Has in the Villa of Soriano, in the Kingdom of Naples. And Some of the Events in Mexico."[29]

Another news sheet related the inexplicable ringing of church bells in a small town in Spain.[30] A series of *relaciones* dealt with miracles attributed to a nun from Valladolid.[31] Even a military victory against the French was attributed to a miracle in a 1676 *relación*.[32]

Several stories, while not dealing with miracles, were sensationalistic in nature and were not unlike stories covered in today's supermarket tabloids. For example, one *relación* reported the discovery of a hideous monster in La Rochelle, France. Copper tablets that were found under rocks near the animal conveniently explained the beast. This 1649 *hoja,* which was published by the prominent printing family of Bernardo Calderón, was the "true relation of the capture of a monster in France, with a human face with a long beard, the beak of an eagle, the body of a dragon, legs of an eagle, and the hands of a man."[33] According to the account in the pamphlet, the fabulous animal prognosticated all sorts of happiness, abundance of crops to the farmers, peace to the nations, and that there would not be any more hurricanes or tempests.[34] Another *hoja*, printed in México City, reported the birth of Siamese twins in Lima and debated how the "monster" should be baptised.[35]

Unlike some modern Mexican newspapers, crime stories were reported infrequently. One of the few examples is held by the *Hemeroteca Nacional de México* and contains an account of the confession of Gabriel de la Cruz who was hung on February 19, 1680.[36] An earlier news sheet that was published by the Calderóns in 1651 contained the confession of Gabriel Marín who admitted to using skeleton keys and picklocks to commit 68 robberies. In the *relación* he apologized for making his victims suspect that the thieves had been their friends, neighbors, servants, and slaves.[37]

While there weren't many crime stories, natural disasters, such as the 1541 earthquake, continued to attract a colonial readership. The flooding of the Tormes River in Salamanca, Spain, was reported in 1626. *Relaciones* covering earthquakes in Lima, Cuzco, Seville, and Sicily are included in the García Icazbalceta Collection.[38]

Not all *hojas* dealt with foreign kings and queens and their wars. However, *hojas* which dealt with the who, what, why, when, and where of an event that took place on American soil were rare in comparison with news sheets that reported European events. However, there are examples in the collection of European news stories being localized. For instance, when a king died, local ceremonies were also reported in the story.

How was the news gathered and disseminated?

Most news was copied from European gazettes which arrived in Veracruz twice a year with the official fleet from Spain. This happened in the English colonies as well. John Campbell's *Boston News-Letter* reprinted news stories from English periodicals, and some of its "news" stories were five months old. In Spanish America, the sea voyage from Europe took approximately two or three months although pirate attacks sometimes delayed the news even more. Some news sheets mention the cities where the story was first published, e.g., Madrid, Seville, Amsterdam, Lima, etc., but the vast majority give no indication of their original source.

Letters were another news source. The word *carta* (letter) appears frequently in many headlines. Letters were either printed verbatim or used in part, but the author was usually not identified by name. There are some exceptions, however. A letter from the Great Turk to the King of Spain and a letter from General Pedro de Mata to the Governor of China are included in the collection.[39]

Other sources of news that have already been already referred to included treaties and royal appointments. Royal and religious decrees and statutes were also sources. For instance, a royal edict requiring the Portuguese to register was the source of a 1641 news sheet, the only broadside in the Garcîa Icazbalceta collection.

Whether they contained American or European news or whether they were firsthand accounts or a rehashing of official documents, *relaciones* were awaited with great expectation. As mentioned earlier, most *relaciones* were sold by printer/publishers in México City. Just as newspapers were shared in coffee houses in colonial English America, one Mexican news sheet was probably read by many readers. In addition, some México City *hojas* must have reached the hinterland, but bad roads and primitive transportation probably added to the inherent difficulties of disseminating the news. The audience for news sheets was also limited by the low level of literacy, governmental and ecclesiastical censorship, high production costs, and the small size of the Spanish speaking population. The lack of an adequate paper supply was another a problem that prohibited widespread distribution.

Who were the early Printers?

The *hojas* or *relaciones* also tell us about the men and women who published them. They indicate, for example, that the printing trade at that time was somewhat international in character. Juan Pablos, who was mentioned earlier in regard to the 1541 *hoja,* was the second printer in México City. A native of Brescia, Lombardy, his name in Italian was Paoli which translated into Spanish is Pablos. He worked for the Seville-based firm of Juan Cromberger which had a monopoly on all printing in México City. Cromberger was a highly successful German printer who had settled in Spain.[40]

The contract that Cromberger and Pablos signed also tells us a lot about both European and Latin American printing businesses during the 16th century. According to Carlos Castenada, Pablos and his pressman, Gil Barbero, agreed to...

> furnish a press and the necessary type and equipment to the value of one hundred thousand maravedis (about $3,000), to pay for the cost of its transportation and the passage of the

> two printers, to furnish them board and the necessary spending money for the trip, and to pay the master printer one hundred and fifty ducats in gold a year and forty-eight ducats to the pressman. Pablos was furthermore to receive one-fifth of the net profits, but he was not to use his name in any imprint. Pablos was to destroy all type worn out, to prevent its being used by any other press. Cromberger obtained from the king a monopoly not only in the printing business but in the sale of all books imported from Spain. Pablos was bound by the contract for a period of ten years as printer, administrator, legal representative, and bookseller of Juan Cromberger, while the pressman was to serve three years before he could be relieved of his obligations. A Negro slave was given to Pablos as assistant. The terms as to the minimum work to be turned out were extremely severe. Pablos was to increase production to an average of three thousand pages a day and to be responsible for each individual page.[41]

On Cromberger's death, Pablos went into business for himself and retained the monopoly. In 1558, several printers (Antonio de Espinosa, Antonio Alvarez, Sebastian Gutierrez, and Juan Rodriquez) successfully petitioned the king to abolish Pablos' monopoly.[42] The printing establishment of Pablos passed to Pedro Ocharte in 1560.[43] Slowly presses spread to Puebla, Guadalajara, and Veracruz and other cities in the Spanish empire.

Some of the names that appear in the *hojas volantes* in the collection at the University of Texas include Diego Garrido, Francisco Salvago, Pedro de Quiñones, Juan Ruíz, Hipólito de Rivera, Juan José Guillena Carrascoso, and, most importantly, Bernardo Calderón. Most of the *relaciones* in the collection were printed by the Calderón family which operated a printing business in México City for 132 years. Founded by Bernardo Calderón in 1631, the firm passed to his widow, Paula de Benavides, on his death in 1641.

She was in charge of the establishment for more than 40 years (1641-1684). Other widows carried on their husbands' firms. The widow of prominent printer Diego Garrido ran his business for several years after his death.[44] The widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio ran that printing firm from 1683 to 1694 although her real name is not known. This is not unusual because the imprint of these firms typically read "the widow of" (*viuda* *de...*). Benavides, for example, was only known as the *viuda* (widow) *de Bernardo de Calderón* in all the *hojas volantes* that appear in the García Icazbalceta collection.

More than one scholar has tried to attribute the success of these widows or *viudas* to some man in the background, e.g., son, son-in-law, employee, etc. Few of the 19th century Mexican authorities were willing to concede that a woman could run a printing establishment on her own. Benavides had six children including four sons, Antonio, Gabriel, Diego, and Bernardo; and two daughters, María and Micaela. Even though all four sons entered the Church, some scholars credited Antonio with being the real boss of the printing establishment from 1645 until his death in 1668.[45] After Antonio's death, Pedro de Quiñones, who operated his own firm for a number of years, went to work for Señora Calderón. Pérez Salazar questioned whether Quiñones was the guiding force behind the widow of Bernardo Calderón firm.[46]

Señora Calderón left the firm to her daughter, María Calderón Benavides. Again many scholars refuse to give her credit, pointing out that she married Juan Ribera. According to Pérez Salazar, he was a brother to printer Hipólito de Rivera.[47] Modern scholars are beginning to question some of these earlier assumptions, pointing out the possible biases that contributed to these conclusions.

Format

Colonial Spanish American printers were busy. They did everything--the reporting, writing, typesetting, lay out, printing, promotion, and distribution. In several cases, they were also booksellers. Both firms of Calderón and Garrido sold books. Printing also seems to have been a family affair; both parents and the siblings were usually involved. Not only did everybody pitch in, but there is some indication that printing families intermarried.

Although there was some writing involved, firms probably did more editing than writing. No one really knows how much editing went on, but it would be interesting to compare the Mexican examples with the few European originals that exist to see how much editing was actually done. Spelling tended to be inconsistent throughout much of this period which may be attributable to the fact that the language was in a state of flux. The name "John," for example, appeared at least three different ways: *Juan*, *Iuan*, and *Ivan*. There was even spelling inconsistency within individual firms. Headline writing was certainly different than today. Headlines, such as "True Relation of a masquerade, which the silversmiths' guild of Mexico and devotees of the glorious San Isidro the Patron Saint of Madrid, held in honor of his glorious beatification," were long but gave the reader a good indication of the contents.[48]

The *relaciones* weren't laid out in any standard arrangement. There are only five *hojas* in the collection that were laid out in columns; most used a single line presentation. When the *hojas* evolved from reporting one item to covering more news, news from Spain generally came first and, if there were any, the appointments (*provisiones y mercedes*) came last. Generally speaking, graphics weren't used. The *relación* about the comet in Turkey did have an illustration, but it was exceptional.

The news sheets were usually reproduced in one or more leaves in folio although there are examples of eight quartos, one broadside, and three in octavo in the García Icazbalceta collection. Average length was four to eight pages. However, there are several sixteen-page examples; the longest news sheet in the collection is twenty-eight pages. Occasionally the pages were paginated.

Conclusion

By modern standards, the *hojas volantes* were crude. Nonetheless, they filled a need for news for more than a century and a half. They also laid the foundation for the periodicals that followed. While they lacked many characteristics of newspapers--periodicity, a regular title, pagination, variety, and timeliness--they helped develop a reading audience for news.

It should also be remembered that the printers of the *relaciones* were working against great odds: a low level of literacy, poor transportation, lack of paper, expensive equipment, and censorship. Despite this, they left an interesting social history of what colonial Spanish American readers thought was newsworthy, or what, reading between the lines of civil and ecclesiastic censorship, the government thought was fit to print. Most importantly, they paved the way for the first regularly published periodicals, the *gazettas* and *mercurios* of the 18th century.

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[1] *Relación del espantable terremoto que ahora nuevamente ha acontecido en la Indias en una ciudad llamada Guatemala.* (México: Juan Pablos, 1541.) The original copy is held in the Hemeroteca Nacional de México.

[2] Actually this is not the complete headline; there is a subhead which reads as follows: *"Es cosa de grande admiración y de grande ejemplo para que todos no enmendemos de nuestros pecados y estemos apercibidos para cuando Dios fuere servido de nos llamar."*

[3] *Relación del espantable terremoto ..., op. cit.*, p. 7. (Author's translation)

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See Mary Gardner's *The Press of Guatemala* (Lexington Ky.: Association for Education in Journalism, 1971) for the Guatemalan side of the argument.

[6] Juan de Zumárraga, *Memorial*, undated. Cited in José Toribio Median, *La Imprenta en Mexico* (8 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1910-11), p. xxv.

[7] Zumárraga, *Memorial*, undated, Cited by Medina, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxxvi.

[8] Carlos Castenada, "The Beginning of Printing in America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 20 (1940), pp. 671-685.

[9] Letter of Zumárraga to Charles V, May 6, 1538. Cited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, "Tipografía mexicana," *Obras*, Vol. XVIII: *Biblioteca de autores mexicanos-historiadores* (México: Imprenta de V. Agüeros, 1898), p. x.

[10] There is disagreement among U.S. authorities about the date. Estimates range from 1535 to 1539, but most Mexican authorities agree on 1536.

[11] Castenada, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

[12] Isaiah.Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1874 second edition), p. 7.

[13] Agustín Agüeros de la Portilla, *Documentos para la historia de la primitiva tipografia mexicana.* (Sevilla, 1908), p. 371.

[14] Carlos Alvear Acevedo, *Breve historia del periodismo*, (México: Editorial Jus, 1965), p. 75.

[15] Vicente G. Quesada, *La Vida Inteléctual, en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII* (Buenos Aires:La Cultural Argentina), p. 16.

[16] Henry F. Schulte, *The Spanish Press 1470-1966* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), p. 72.

[17] James D. Harless, *Mass Communication, an Introductory Survey* (William C. Brown Publishers, Dubuque, Iowa, 1990), p. 75.

[18] *Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta Collection*, Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin.

[19] See Henry Lepidus, *The History of Mexican Journalism.* (Missouri: University of Missouri, 1928).

[20] *Verdadera relación del nacimiento y baptismo de la serenissima infanta d. Margarita María de Austria, hija de los reyes nuestros señores don Felipe quarto, y D. María-Ana de Austria.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1651); *Viaje del rey nuestro señor, à S. Juan de Luz, y desposorio de la serenissima señora infanta de España,*

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con Luis XIV, rey christianíssimo de Francia. Y buelta de su magestad a esta corte. (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1661); *Clausulas y mandas notables del testamento que antes de su muerte hizo el muy católico y religiosissímo rey don Felipe Tercero nuestro Señor q goza de Dios, con los christianíssimos actos, y pláticas espirituales, que tuvo con su confessor y con el padre Geronymo de Florencia de la Cõpañía de Jesús, confessor de los Señores Infantes en su transito. Y cosas muy notables que su magestad hizo y dispuso personalmente en este dicho tiempo.* (México: Diego Garrido, 1621). *Relación de la enfermidad, muerte y entierro del Rey D. Felipe Quarto nuestro señor (que estè en el cielo) sucedida jueves 17 de Septiembre año de 1665.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1666). *Copia del testamento cerrado que en dos de Octubre, de mil y setecientos del codicilio, que en cinco de dicho mes y año hizo la magestad cathólica del Señor Rey D. Carlos Segundo (que está en Gloria) Debaxo de cuya disposición falleció en primero de Noviembre siguiente. Y también copia del papel que cita el testamento* (No publisher, no date).

[21] *Vitoria, que las galeras de España han tenido, siendo general de ellos el excellentíssimo señor duque de Alburquerque.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1651); *Vitoria grandiosa, que don Antonio de Oqvendo tubo en la canal de Inglaterrra contra quarenta navíos oladeses entre los Bancos y Calès de Francia, a nueve días del mes de Septiembre de 1639 años.* (México: Pedro Quiñones, 1640); *Relación del reencuentro de la armada de galeones de flota, General D. Carlos de Ibarra, con la armada de Holanda, cerca de la Habana.* (México: Francisco Salbago, 1638).

[22] *Tratado para la continuación y renovación de Paz y Amistad, entre las coronas de España, y la Gran Bretaña.* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1668; México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1668). *Tratado de la Paz ajustado entre las coronas de España y Francia. Año 1679.* (Madrid; México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1679).

[23] *Relación de la entrada que hizo el governor de la Nueva Vizcaya Francisco de la Urdiñola a la conquista castigo y pacificación de los yndios llamados Xiximes por el año mill y seis cientos y diez, y acavo a fin del dicho año.* (No publisher, circa 1610.)

[24] *Mercedes y provisiones que su magestad (Dios le guarde) ha dado este año de 1652.* (No publisher, circa 1652.) *Provisiones, mercedes, y cargos que ha dado su Magestad (Dios le guarde) para Nueva España, Perú, y otras partes.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1650).

[25] *Año de 1616: Lunes 20 de febrero, para la fundación que estava publicado para el día siguiente, del nuevo convento de Carmelitas descalzas en esta ciudad de México.* (No publisher, circa 1616).

[26] *Relación historial, en que se declaran los motivos que tuvo Christina Adolfo reyna de Suecia, Gocia y Vandalia, para dexar sus reynos y señoríos y retirarse a Bruxelas corte de Flandes y después à Inspruch, à hazer la abjuración de la heregía, y professión de la Fé, en secreto y en público: Y ultimamente seguir su viage para Roma à besar el pie à su Santidad, y de allí passar à España, à vivir y morir religiosamente en el convento de las Descalças de la villa de Madrid.* (Sevilla: 1656; México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1656).

[27] *Relación primera de la Tartana, que vino de segundo aviso en 11 de Septiembre de 1685.* (México: Herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1685).

[28] *Relación, y copia de carta escrita de la ciudad de Constantinopla, a un cavallero de este ciudad de Sevilla, en que la dà noticia de más horrendo cometa que hasta aora se ha visto: Y de las ruynas que amenaça al imperio Octomano.* (No publisher, circa 1671).

[29] *Breve relación de la milagrosa, y celestial imagen de Santo Domingo Patriarca de la Orden de Predicadores, trayda de cielo por mano de la Virgen nuestra señora al convento que la dicha orden predicadores tiene en la villa de Soriana, en el reyno de Nápoles y algunos de los sucedidos en México.* (México: Iuan Ruyz, 1640); *Relación del protentoso milagro que Dios N. Señor ha obrado, por intercessión de la Virgen santíssima de Rosario, y del glorioso patriarca Santo Domingo, con un niño fordo, y mudo, vezino de la ciudad de Ginebra.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1656).

[30] *Relación y copia de carta escrita à un ministro desta corte, un vezino de la ciudad de Zaragoça, en este año de 1652. Sobre eltanimiento de la campana de Vililla.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1652).

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[31] *Segunda parte de la relación de la monja de alseres, y dizense en ella cosas admirables, y side dignas de los valerosos hechos desta muger; de lo bien que empleò al tiempo en servicio de nuestro rey y señor.* (México: Hipólito de Rivera, circa 1653). *Ultima y tercera relación, en que se haze verdadera del resto de la vida de la monja alserez, sus memorables virtudes, y exemplar, muerte en estos reynos de la Nueva España.* (México: Hipólito de Rivera, 1653).

[32] *Gazeta del primer aviso de febrero de 1676: Trata de los sucesos adversos del exército de Francía en el imperio y de las victorias del Exército imperial.* (No publisher, no date).

[33] *Relación verdadera en que se da cuenta de la presa que se ha hecho de un animal monstruoso en el Soso del lugar de Loyes, junto a la villa de La Rochela en Francia. Y el maravilloso descubrimiento de unas centurias que se han hallada escritas en una plancha de cobre, debaxo de una piedra, que los vientos recios de este año de 1648, arrancaron de la torre de Garot de la dicha Rochela todo a un tiempo: que pronostican el descubrimiento deste animal.* (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1648; México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1649).

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Relación verdadera de una criatura, que nació en la ciudad de Lima a 30 del mes de noviembre de 1694 martes à las ocho de la manaña, día de San Andrés Apóstol.* (Lima: 1694; México: Herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1695).

[36] *Declaración que Gabriel de la Cruz mestizo, condenado por los señores alcaldes de esta Real Audiencia, à ahorcar por las caussas que contra el se hizieron de ladrón, hizo, el día diez y nueva de Febrero, de este año de 1680, en la Capilla de la Real Carcel, antes de salir de ella; que pidiò se leyese despueës de muerto y los señores mandaron se leyese debaxo de la horca.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón).

[37] *Declaracion que dio en la horca Gabriel Marin, al Licenciado Francisco Corchero Carreno, Presbytero, su Confessor: A quien pidio por amor de Dios la publicase, en ella despues de su muerte, para descargo de su conciencia."* (MéxicoVda. de Bernardo Calderón, 1651.)

[38] *Sucesso de la grande y furiosa avenida del Río Tormes: Daños y ruynas que causó en la ciudad de Salamanca, y sus arrabales.* (México: Viuda de Diego Garrido, 1626). *Verdadera relación del gran temblor, y terremoto que Dios N. Señor fue servido de embiar a la ciudad del Cuzco, a 31 del mes de Março, Iueves à las dos de la tarde; con particulares misericordias suyas como se experimentaron en el tiempo de su mayor ruyna* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1651).

[39] *Copia de carta que el licenciado Don Francisco de Ballejo y de la Cueva, corregidor de Carrión escrive a su Majestad, en su Consejo Real de Castilla en tres de abril, de 1635.* (México: Bernardo Calderón, no date). *Carta ques escrivió del exercito el padre fr. Francisco de Tarazana, lector de artes en el convento de los Capuchinos de Pamplona al padre guardián de los Capuchinos del convento de Zaragoça. En que le da cuenta del cerco que los dos generales de Francia tenían puesto a Fuente Rabia, el Príncipe de Conde por tierra y el Arçobispo de Burdeos por mar.* (México: Bernardo Calderón, 1639); *Relación verdadera de algunas cosas particulares de España, en el año de 1649. Y assí mesmo un tanto de una carta, que el gran Turco embió a su Magestad, que Dios guarde, la qual trujo un embaxador suyo.* (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1649).

[40] Castenada, *op. cit.*, pp. 674-675.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Agüeros de la Portilla, Agustín. *Documentos para la historia de la primitiva tipografía mexicana*, p. 368.

[43] Lepidus, *op. cit.*, p. 7

[44] José Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceánia* (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Mediana, 1958), I, pp. 145-7

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[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Pérez Salazar, "Dos familias de impresores," p. 463.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Verdadera Relación de una mascara, que los artifices del gremio de la plateria de Mexico y devotos del glorioso San Isidro el Labrador de Madrid, lucieron en honra de su gloriosa beatificacion." Compuesta por Juan Rodriguez Abril platero.* (Mexico, por Pedro Gutierrez, en la calle de Tacuba, 1621).

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE IMMIGRANT PRESS:
PRESS CRITICISM BY TWO SWEDISH-AMERICAN EDITORS

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One of the enduring views of the immigrant press has been that of an institution dedicated to serving its readers, acting, in the words of Robert Park, like "a public utility, like the telephone or street-car system."[1] Once observers agreed that the American foreign-language press both aided in the assimilation of the immigrants and helped preserve their ethnic heritage, it was assumed that it did both effectively and altruistically, guiding its readers into their new life in America.[2]

That view was challenged by George Pozzetta in a 1973 study of Italian-language newspapers in New York. According to Pozzetta, the press often worked against the interest of its readers, running advertisements for businesses seeking to exploit the immigrants and emphasizing sensational news stories dealing with crime and scandal, stories of little value to newcomers trying to adjust to American conditions.[3] In the Italian-American press in New York, the desire for profits triumphed over the concern for readers, was Pozzetta's conclusion.

The author was cautious about generalizing those findings, however, assuming that the altruistic attitude sketched above was "unquestionably descriptive of a great many immigrant newspapers," if not of New York's Italian press. His remark seems to have been accepted by later studies of the immigrant press in America; they have largely stayed away from examining the papers of other groups in the light of Pozzetta's findings.[4]

This study of how two Swedish-American editors viewed their newspapers shows that the disparity between the perceived function of immigrant newspapers and their actual performance was not unique to the Italian-American press. Moreover, the disparity troubled not only outside observers, the main sources in Pozzetta's study, but working journalists as well. Through the eyes of Johan Person and Nils F. Brown a press emerges where editors and publishers differed about the purpose of the newspapers and where serving the readers was not always the first priority.

For the most part, the sources for this paper are articles and letters written by Person and Brown in Swedish. As Marion Marzolf has pointed out, books and articles written by immigrant representatives and intended for readers outside the immigrant group have tended to defend the press before "American" readers and stress its good qualities.[5] Addressing fellow immigrants, Person and Brown saw no reason to play down critical viewpoints to present a united front to outsiders. Their criticism is related in the following, and its implications for the history of the American foreign-language press is discussed.

Backgrounds and Careers of the Editors

The two editors in this study served a press that had its beginnings in the 1850s, at the eve of a mass immigration that would eventually bring more than a million Swedes to America. In the early 1910s, when Swedish immigration to America peaked, some 50 weeklies reached an estimated 650,000 readers.[6] Newspapers appeared in accordance with settlement patterns, and the largest were to be found in heavily Swedish cities like Chicago and Minneapolis. With mass immigration ending after World War I, the Swedish-American press went into rapid decline, aggravated by the Great Depression.[7] Today, only a handful of papers remain.

Immigration historians like Ulf Beijbom have characterized the typical Swedish-American editor as a foreign-born intellectual taking up journalism because it was one of the few careers possible in America, and both Person and Brown fit that pattern.[8] Their level of education was higher than that of the average Swedish immigrant: Person had attended secondary school, and his younger colleague had spent a few years at university.[9] Both also found it hard to break away from the press. Person often felt he had to get out of journalism to provide for his family, but he acknowledged to a friend that he was "good for nothing else"; due to similar economic considerations, Brown did leave the press, but only after having worked nearly 30 years as an editor.[10]

Together, the careers of Johan Person and Nils F. Brown spanned more than 40 years, from the mid-1890s to the late 1930s. Person (1868-1921) came to America in 1887 and entered the Swedish-language press in 1895, after working a variety of non-skilled jobs. That first employment at *Svenska Tribunen (The Swedish Tribune)* in Chicago began a career that would take him to seven newspapers in four states, for Person was a restless man who left a position whenever he was dissatisfied with his situation. As befitted a man dedicated to journalism, Person never retired but died as an editor of *Svenska Kuriren (The Swedish Courier)* in Chicago.[11]

Brown (1886-1960) immigrated to the United States in 1910 and found employment as a journalist at *Svenska Amerikanska Posten (The Swedish American Post)* in Minneapolis almost immediately after his arrival. He and Person met at *Posten*, where the older man became the mentor of the younger. Brown's career was as varied as Person's and included eight papers and one magazine in four states and one Canadian province. Brown left full-time journalism in search of a more lucrative career in 1939. After more than ten years as a masseur in Hollywood, he retired and returned to Sweden in 1953. Before and after his retirement from full-time journalism he was prolific freelance contributor to various Swedish-American papers.[12]

Within the press, Johan Person represented the salaried employees working for publishers; most of his life, he worked on the large papers in Chicago and Minneapolis, which had several editors and were relatively prosperous. Brown's experience was a little more varied; it did include the large weeklies, but he also tried his luck, unsuccessfully, as an editor-publisher of smaller publications.

The Editors and the Purpose of the Immigrant Press

Before turning to Brown's and Person's criticism of the Swedish-American press, attention should be given to their view of what Swedish immigrant papers were supposed to accomplish. Historians have noted that the Swedish-American press, like the immigrant press in general, functioned as both an assimilator and a preserver of the ethnic heritage.[13] The two editors discussed here, however, ignored the former function and concentrated on ethnic preservation when discussing the press they served.

Thus, Person saw the foremost task of the papers as safeguarding Swedish culture and the Swedish language in America. The editor was a strong believer in a Swedish-American culture that evolved under the influence of the new as well as the old homeland, and the duty of the press was "not only keeping this culture as a memory, but following its development, week by week, here in and in the old country."[14] Brown, who frequently quoted his older friend as an authority on the Swedish-American press, reiterated Person's emphasis on preserving Swedish culture and added that the papers should help immigrants keep in touch with each other and with the country they had left.[15]

Moreover, Person saw the role of the press as "enlightening and educating," raising the intellectual level of adult immigrants the way the schools were teaching their children.[16] Again, Brown agreed. After becoming a socialist in the late 1910s, he added "a clear grasp of socioeconomic issues" to knowledge of "literature and culture" as things that the papers should bring to their readers.[17] As an educator of the immigrants, the press should be "marching in front of its readership rather than crawling behind it," Brown thought.[18]

As Person saw it, the responsibility for fulfilling the "cultural mission" of the press rested with the editors, who took "anything but a crass view of their obligations to the public."[19] Had they been in control of the press, it would have been considerably better, but the problem was that they were not. Instead, they were subservient to publishers who cared little about the obligations of a Swedish-language newspaper and had no perception of the vital role of the editors. Person's first complaint--seconded by Brown--was thus deeply personal: it dealt with how editors were treated by their employers.

Relations Between Editors and Publishers

Against a vision of the typical editor aglow with enthusiasm for his cultural task, Person set a "cold and calculating management" that regarded the newspaper purely as a business venture. In a 1910 collection of stories and anecdotes about the Swedish-American newspaper world, his account stands out for its bitter tone:

> [T]he editor of a Swedish-American paper is even in the best of circumstances nothing but a hired hand--in some cases an ill-paid hand in the service of a rough, uneducated, brutal master, whose only aims are to "make money" and whose newspaper enterprise smells of the confidence man. Fortunately, this cannot be said of most papers, but then the case is that their publishers are exclusively businessmen of the American mold, and since it is the publisher or his representative, the manager, who really edits the paper (with the editor as a kind of private secretary), it gets a look very close to being factory-made.[20]

Publishers concerned with money matters did not appreciate the work of good editors, Person charged; typically, a publisher cared less about how well his editor wrote and more about how well he sold the paper and represented it outside the office.[21] Complaining to a friend about the working conditions at *Vestkusten (The West Coast)* in San Francisco, the editor lamented that he was not a subscription solicitor, in which case the publisher would have seen him "as an asset rather than a burden."[22]

Although he frequently voiced concerns about low salaries, Person seemed most irked by how little autonomy employers gave him, making him truly the "private secretary" of the quotation above. Using the "hired hand" metaphor again while working in San Francisco, he was exasperated by his publisher's interference in the selection of news items, and at *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* and *Svenska Kuriren* he ridiculed employers who tried to control him and his colleagues by locking them inside the office to make sure hours were kept and by using a young proofreader to spy on them.[23]

Somewhat more forgiving of the publishers because of a disastrous experience as a magazine publisher in the early 1920s, Brown took the view that the life of a publisher was just as unrewarding as that of an editor.[24] He explained to readers that it was the job of publishers and managers to meet expenses, and since commercial newspapers derived more income from advertising than subscriptions, they naturally took less interest in "ideas" than in profits. Like the editors, they were "victims of the capitalistic system," Brown concluded, and there would be no change until readers were willing to pay the full cost of producing their newspapers.[25] In the mean time, the position of the editors remained difficult, Brown thought. Since they did not bring in revenue like the advertising solicitors, they had less value in the eyes of publishers and were seen as a "necessary evil" no matter how talented they were.

Like Person, Brown had personal experience to back up his claims; the difference was perhaps that his ventures into publishing and his positions at small papers afforded him a better view of the precarious finances of many Swedish-American papers. Still, he resented editorial interference from publishers as much as his older colleague, complaining about it both at *Svenska Canada-Tidningen (The Swedish Canada Times)* in Winnipeg and at *Svenska Journalen* in Seattle.[26]

The publishers' treatment of their editors had clear effects on the press, according to Person and Brown. Dissatisfied editors did not stay long at any one position, and many talented journalists left the press altogether. Those who stayed on became cynical. Since publishers put business before editorial excellence, the mission of the press was in many cases entrusted to second-rate staff, who were ill equipped to provide the cultural leadership the two editors deemed so important.

The "American" Newspaper Model

Both Brown and Person attributed many of the problems of the press to what they conceived as a concept of the press peculiar to the United States, a view of the newspaper as a business venture rather than a vehicle for ideas. As the above discussion of Brown's implies, that press concept produced publishers who were, as a matter of course, more interested in advertising and circulation revenue than in editorial quality.

In Brown's view, the concern with profits found its worst expression in practice of Swedish-language papers to take money from political parties in exchange for support, which was tantamount to "putting the ideas of the newspaper up for sale." He early on stressed that a paper must be "independent," and most of the Swedish-American press fell woefully short in that regard, according to the editor.[27] Criticizing what he considered a "whitewashing" history of the Swedish-language press, he declared that many papers were "venal."[28] Selling one's viewpoint was a far cry from the editorial leadership that Brown demanded of the press. (Still, the editor was not above taking money himself to support Democrats when his paper needed revenue in the 1930s.[29])

A more fundamental and equally troubling policy of the profit-driven publishers was to reach for a mass audience by letting reader preferences dictate content. That idea was anathema to the two editors, who saw the immigrant press as an educational agency that was to supply readers with what they needed rather than what they wanted. Person thought it resulted in low standards and editorial blandness. Reader poetry was published that was "trash," and on the editorial page "no definite opinions, least of all political" could be expressed for fear of offending some readers.[30] In the news department, discussions of social issues were sacrificed to make room for items about surprise parties, "embezzlement and murder."[31]

To Brown, the tendency to cater to readers was proof of the "Americanization" of the Swedish-language press. It had resulted in the papers "dishing out the worst kind of intellectual muck."[32] Influenced by American press critics Upton Sinclair, Silas Bent, H.L. Mencken and Oliver H.P. Garrett, the editor declared the press in the United States "totally commercialized" and ruled by the "almighty dollar," and he saw the Swedish-language papers heading in the same direction.[33] It was no coincidence, then, that his favorite newspaper was *Arbetaren(The Worker)* in New York, whose editor Thor Borg met him with the assurance that "on this paper we don't give a damn about the readership... but only write what we think is right."[34]

Illustrative of their criticism of "Americanized" papers is the view Brown and Person took of two publishers they both worked for, Swan J. Turnblad of *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* and Alexander J. Johnson of *Svenska Kuriren*. Turnblad, who had left Sweden as a child and was raised in America, had started as a typesetter and regarded *Posten* as a business venture rather than an outlet for his ideas. In the eyes of his colleagues, Turnblad was "more American than Swedish, i. e. more bold and energetic, in his way of doing business," and he was one of the few Swedish-American newspaper owners to become wealthy from publishing.[35] Around 1912, when Person and Brown were his employees, *Posten* laid claim to 50,000 readers, making it the largest or second largest Swedish weekly in America.[36]

Although Turnblad did not write in his paper, he maintained strict control over its content and over his editors. Person disliked the publisher and Brown detested him as an employer who demanded long hours at low wages.[37] More than that, however, the editors disapproved of the editorial standards of Turnblad's paper, which Person considered so low that he did not want to have his name under the masthead.[38] Brown compared Turnblad to William Randolph Hearst, whose papers were "at a lower level than their readers."[39] To both editors, Turnblad embodied the principle of giving readers only what they wanted, of following rather than leading.

By contrast, they respected Johnson, an editor-publisher who considered the editorial page the most important part of *Kuriren* and did not care if it offended some readers. *Svenska Kuriren* was a successful paper, but it was nowhere near as large as *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, circulating slightly less than 30,000 copies when Person and Brown were working for Johnson after 1914. Johan Person had his conflicts with *Kuriren*'s publisher, but he worked at the paper for a total of 13 years, longer by far than for any other publisher, and he never had any complaints about its content. A dyed-in-the-wool Republican, Johnson should seemingly have presented problems for a socialist like Brown, but that was not the case. On the contrary, Brown admired the publisher as a journalist and delighted in his directive to "make as much noise as you want" in the paper's columns.[40] Approvingly, Brown noted that *Svenska Kuriren* appealed to "the most intelligent people in Swedish America," and not to everybody.[41]

The last remark was indicative of how the two editors viewed themselves in relation to their readers. By virtue of their schooling and their profession, they considered themselves part of a vanguard of educated intellectuals in contrast to the great majority of Swedish immigrants. The attitude was most evident in Brown, who as a socialist would write occasionally about the inherent intelligence of the working class but was far more fond of quoting Mencken's idea of a "civilized minority," consisting, as Brown saw it, of Swedish immigrants with higher education, like himself and Person[42] If this elite could determine the content of the Swedish-American papers, their cultural task would be fulfilled; if the tastes of a mass audiences shaped the press, its goals were in danger.

For Whom Did Brown and Person Speak?

Students of the immigrant press have found editors rare who discussed the goals of that press and their working conditions, and since the two subjects of this study were selected because they left behind a body of published as well as private writing on the topic, it is necessary to discuss how representative their views were of Swedish-American journalists in general.[43] As was pointed out in the introduction, their backgrounds were similar to that of most Swedish immigrant editors. It is likely, for instance, that many of their colleagues saw themselves as members of Brown's "civilized minority," even if they did not phrase it in quite such an elitist way. At least some of them formulated the duty of the press in ways similar to Brown and Person, calling it "a cultural mission" and claiming that publishers were ill suited to carry it out.[44] Moreover, they considered both Person and Brown skillful journalists.[45]

On the other hand, there is little doubt that Person and Brown were more vocal and pointed in their complaints than most of their colleagues. Even the friends of Johan Person described him as restless and difficult to get along with, and some of his complaints about employers, particularly late in his life, were seen in that light; quoting Person's views of the press, they tended to dwell on his occasional praise rather than his more frequent criticism.[46] As for Brown, his socialist leanings and general delight in the critic's role at times infuriated his colleagues, who claimed he was eternally "ranting and raving at the world order."[47] Typically, when Brown characterized the Swedish-American press as "very dull" and intellectually "very low" in a 1926 article in Mencken's *The American Mercury*, his fellow editors almost unanimously denounced him as a snob and an elitist.[48] Most of them did not share his admiration for Mencken's view of the world, and neither did they subscribe to his socialist analysis of how capitalism shaped immigrant newspapers.

Still, the problems that the two editors pointed to were recognized among Swedish-American journalists, particularly the problematic relationship with publishers. A clear sign was the formation in 1919 of an organization to look after "the social and economic interests" of Swedish-American journalists and to represent them against their employers. Called the Swedish Journalist Society in America, it had attracted most of the editors of the press within a year.[49] Most editors did not write about the problems of the Swedish-American press as openly as Person and Brown did, but they thought changes were needed.

In conclusion, the criticism of Person and Brown has a great deal in common with the Pozzetta's observations, indicating that the problems were not confined to the press of one immigrant group. To regard American immigrant newspapers as more altruistic than the mainstream English-language press thus appears to be an oversimplification that hampers an understanding of these papers.

To acknowledge that the foreign-language press sometimes failed to reach its perceived goals does not mean a return to the often hostile view of the early part of this century, however. Rather, it involves a recognition of the business aspect of immigrant newspapers and its impact on the papers' content.[50] That foreign-language papers with any degree of longevity were run as businesses should hardly come as a surprise, given the shift from personal organs toward business enterprises in the general American press in the 1800s. Although printed in foreign languages, the immigrant press operated in an American environment and was influenced by it; as an example, a 1910 account of the Swedish-American press is full of references to "American" practices ranging from circulation boosting techniques to the use of patent insides.[51]

As they borrowed business practices from their American colleagues, most immigrant publishers also adopted the American premise for newspaper publishing, that the newspaper would be supported primarily by advertising and seek to reach as many readers as possible. Park considered this an inevitable development, part of the "natural history" of the newspaper.[52] Brown and Person would probably have disagreed with him. They saw the press as an instrument for educating readers, and to them, that was a European idea quite different from the "mercenary" American model. They were vague about how such a press would be financed, although Brown seemed to suggest that readers carry more of the cost of producing newspapers.[53] As self-proclaimed idealists, the two never bothered to grasp the business end of newspaper publishing.

Finally, it should be noted that for all their complaints about the editorial interference of publishers, Brown and Person were able to get many of their viewpoints across to Swedish-American readers. Although some of the criticism discussed in this paper was culled from personal correspondence, a great deal was to be found in the newspaper columns of the two editors. Publishers were unable or unwilling to impose their viewpoints on their editors, and the newspapers that reached the readers were a product that reflected many influences, ranging from the publishers' concern about profits to the editors' vision of what the press was meant to accomplish.

Notes

[1] Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 355.

[2] Park, 287; histories of the press of individual groups echo Park's conclusion, see, for instance, Arlow W. Andersen, *The Immigrant Takes His Stand: The Norwegian-American Press and Public Affairs, 1847-1872* (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Foundation, 1951), 153, 157; Wasyl Halych, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 113-14; Jan Kowalik, *The Polish Press in America* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1940) 3; Wargelin, *The Americanization of the Finns* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1972), 1972) 118; Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice-Hall, 1952), 393.

[3] George Pozzetta, "The Italian Immigrant Press in New York City: The Early Years," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1(3, 1973):32-46; Park also criticized the press, but his view was that its faults lay in European traditions and would be corrected as the papers become more American in style and content; Park, 363, 262.

[4] See, for instance, the collection of essays in Sally Miller, ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1987); two 1980s studies that see the press in the same light as Park are Odd S. Lovoll, "*Washington Posten:* A Window on a Norwegian-American Community," *Norwegian-American Studies* 31(1986):163-86; Francis B. Walsh, "Who Spoke for Boston's Irish? The Boston *Pilot* in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10(3, 1982):21-37.

[5] Marion Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America* (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 5-6 ; a typical example of defending the Swedish-American press in this manner is a 1931 article in English by Oliver Linder, a contemporary of Person and Brown and editor-in-chief of *Svenska Amerikanaren (The Swedish American)* in Chicago; according to him, the Swedish-language press was "living up" to its "great mission" of making Americans out of the immigrants; Linder, "The Swedish-American Press," in *The Swedish Element in America*, Vol. 2, ed. by Erik G. Westman and E. Gustav Johnson (Chicago: Swedish-American Biographical Society, 1931), 341; a 1926 article by Brown in *The American Mercury* that repeated what he had written in Swedish-language publications was denounced by his colleagues primarily because it damaged the Swedish reputation in American eyes; see *Svea*, May 5, 1926, 6.

[6] Ulf Beijbom, "The Swedish Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States*.

[7] The Swedish-American press had no daily papers of any duration, so the most important ones were weeklies; their number was more than 40 in the 1890s, 51 in 1910 and 20 in 1940; *Ayer's*, 1910-40; O. Fritiof Ander, *Swedish-American Political Newspapers* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wicksell, 1936).

[8] Beijbom, "The Swedish Press," 386; *cf.*the similar characterization by Park, 68-69;.

[9] For Person's education (and why it was interrupted), see Ernst Skarstedt, Johan Person obituary, *Nordstjernan*, July 29, 1921, 7; for Brown, see Brown biography in *Bläckfisken: Årsbok för Svenska Journalistförbundet i Amerika, 1920-21*, 237.

[10] Johan Person to Axel Lindegård, April 23, 1913, Ernst Skarstedt papers, Scandinavian-American Archives, Manuscripts Division, University of Washington, Seattle; Nils F:son Brown to Anna-Lenah Elgström,

Aug. 15, 1950, Elgström papers, Manuscripta, Royal Library, Stockholm.

[11] Person worked for *Svenska Tribunen* (Chicago), 1895-99; *Skandinavia* (Worcester, Mass.) 1899-1901, *Svenska Folkets Tidning* (Minneapolis) 1901-03; *Svenska Kuriren* (Chicago) 1903-09; *Svenska Amerikanaren* (Chicago) 1909-10; *Vestkusten* (San Francisco) 1910-12; *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* (Minneapolis), 1912-13; and *Svenska Kuriren* again, 1914-21; Skarstedt, Person obituary.

[12] Brown's positions were on *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, 1910-13; *Svenska Canada-Tidningen* (Winnipeg, Man.), 1913-19; *Forum* magazine (Winnipeg), 1919-21; *Svenska Kuriren*, 1921-23; *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, 1923-27; *Arbetaren* (New York), 1928; *Svenska Pressen* (Spokane, Wash.), 1929-30; *Svenska Journalen* (Seattle), 1931-35; *Svenska Tribunen* (in Seattle), 1935-36; *Svenska Amerikanaren Tribunen* (in Seattle), 1936-39; Nils F. Brown, "Autobiography," typed manuscript, Brown papers, University of Washington, throughout.

[13] Two articles by Oliver Linder, published midway through Brown's career, are among the first to attempt to give the history of the Swedish-American press, and they both stress the dual function of assimilation and preservation; see Linder, "The Swedish-American Press," 341, 343; and Linder, "Svensk-amerikanska tidningspressen," in *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. 2, ed. by Karl Hildebrand and Axel Fredenholm (Stockholm: Historiska förlaget, 1925), 180.

[14] Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: Tidningarne," *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, Oct. 2, 1901, 1; also published in Alfred Söderström, *Blixtar på tidnings-horisonten* (Warroad, Minn.: by the author, 1910), 60; Person, *Svensk-amerikanska studier* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1912), 136, 155; Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: Svenska språket i Amerika," *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, April 23, 1902, 1; he was often critical of rapid "Americanization," see Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: I Vestern sker amerikaniseringen," *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, July 31, 1901, 1; *Vestkusten*, May 18, 1911, 4.

[15] Brown, "Autobiography," 6-7, 94; Brown, "Skall den svenska pressen i Amerika leva?" *Canada-Tidningen* Feb. 24-March 17, 1938, 1; "Är den 'utländska' pressen överflödig?" *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, Sept. 9, 1914, 4; *Svenska Journalen*, March 26, 1931, 9.

[16] Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: Tidningarne."

[17] Brown, "Arbetarprässen," *Arbetaren*, May 1, 1924, 1; apart from the socialist perspective, the same points had been made earlier by other editors, see Johan Enander, "Den svenskamerikanska tidningspressen, jämte korta notiser om tidningar pÅ norsk-danskt sprÅk i Amerika," clipping from *Norden* 1902, Oliver Linder papers, Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, Rock Island; Eric Johnson and C.F. Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois: Historiska anteckningar* (Chicago: W. Williamson, 1880), 247-48; Söderström, 60.

[18] *Svenska Journalen*, June 18, 1931, 4; *cf.* Brown, "Pressens uppgift," *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, April 17, 1918, 1, 6.

[19] Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: Tidningarne"; although he lamented the disappearance of the great Swedish-American editor in the 1930s, Brown basically agreed with Person, see *Svenska Journalen*, June 18, 1931, 4; he quoted Person at length on the topic, see Brown, "Min egen spalt," *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, May 12, 1921, 2.

[20] Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: Tidningarne"; as noted above, republished in Söderström.

[21] Cornelius Corncob (Johan Person), "Vid Aftonpipan: Tidningsredaktörer--tecknade både med penna och sax," *Svenska Folkets tidning*, Jan. 14, 1903, 6.

[22] Person to Ernst Skarstedt, July 13, 1911, Skarstedt papers, University of Washington.

[23] Person to Skarstedt, Sept. 13, 1912; Sept. 14, 1911; May 16, 1914.

[24] Brown, "Min egen spalt," *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, June 9, 1921, 2; to cover the expenses of his money-losing magazine *Forum*, Brown had embezzled money and was arrested; see "Autobiography," 25-26; *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, May 5, 1921, 1, 3-5; April 7, 1921, 1, 4.

[25] Brown, "Min egen spalt," June 9, 1921, 2 .

[26] *Forum* 1(2, Nov. 15, 1919):6; 2(1, Jan. 15, 1920):1; "Autobiography," 66-67.

[27] Brown, "Min egen spalt," *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, May 12, 1921, 2; Brown, "Pressens uppgift"; the practice of taking political money was not uncommon, see O. Fritiof Ander, "The Swedish-American Press and the Election of 1892," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 23(4, 1937):536, 52, 544-45; Ander, "The Swedish-American Press in the Election of 1912," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 14(3, 1963):121.

[28] The history he was criticizing was Linder, "Svensk-amerikanska tidningspressen," see Brown, "Från Utkikstornet," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, July 14, 1926, 9; Brown, "Autobiography," 42-43; he was particularly vehement in his charges following the 1924 presidential election; see Brown, "Valet och den svensk-amerikanska pressen," *Arbetaren*, Dec. 4, 1924; Brown, "Efter slaget," *Arbetaren*, Nov. 13, 1924, 4.

[29] Brown to Harry F. Fabbe, Aug. 16, 1934, Fabbe papers, University of Washington.

[30] Person to Skarstedt, July 12, 1912; Corncob, "Vid aftonpipan: Tidningsredaktörer"; Corncob, "Vid Aftonpipan: Hur skall en yngling sin väg ostraffat gå?" *Vestkusten*, Dec. 13, 1917, 6; "Potpourri," *Skandinavia*, Oct. 25, 1899, 4; Person, "Tre dagar i Connecticut," *Skandinavia*, Sep. 26, 1900, 9.

[31] Person, "Svensk-amerikanska studier: Tidningarne"; Corncob, "Vid aftonpipan: Tidningsredaktörer."

[32] Brown, "Svensk-amerikansk literatur," *Landkänning* 1923, 18; Brown, "Hugget och stucket," *Arbetaren*, Oct. 7, 1927, 4; Brown, "Autobiography," 58.

[33] Brown, "Prässens kommersialism," *Arbetaren*, Nov. 24, 1927, 1; Brown, "Kapitalistprässen," *Arbetaren*, Sept. 1, 1927, 1; Brown, "'Det fria ordet' under kapitalismen," *Arbetaren*, Jan. 5, 1928, 1; Brown, "Från Utkikstornet," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, Sept 8, 1926, 9; Brown, "Från Utkikstornet," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, Oct. 6, 1926, 9.

[34] Editing such a paper was "a sheer joy," Brown thought in retrospect, see *Svenska Amerikanaren Tribunen*, May 28, 1936, 1; Brown, "Autobiography," 57; Brown, "Hugget och stucket," *Canada-Tidningen*, May 30, 1940, 2.

[35] C.F. Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika: Kulturhistoriska och biografiska anteckningar* (Chicago: The Royal Star Co., 1898), 124.

[36] *Ayer's*, 1910-1915; Marie-Louise Sallnäs, "Emil Meurling och *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 32(1, 1981):43-44.

[37] Person to Skarstedt, March 12, 1912; Brown, "Autobiography," 7; Brown, "Ur svensk-amerikansk press-historia," *Canada-Tidningen*, Oct. 3, 1940, 3, 6.

[38] Brown, "Autobiography," 7; Person to Skarstedt, July 12, 1912.

[39] Brown, "Autobiography," 6.

[40] Brown, "Autobiography," 30-32; *Svenska Amerikanaren Tribunen*, May 28, 1936, 1.

[41] Brown, "Autobiography," 32.

[42] See, for instance, Brown, "Ett omdöme," *Arbetaren*, Dec. 18, 1924, 8; Brown to Anna Lenah Elgström, Aug. 15, 1950, Elgström papers, Royal Library, Stockholm, Sweden; Brown, "Bildade svenskamerikaner," *Landkänning* 1928, 30.

[43] Lovoll (176) found that few Norwegian-American journalists discussed the role of their papers; Swedish immigrant editors were more prone to do so, but seldom to the extent that Brown and Person did.

[44] Two such editors were Nils Gillgren of *Svenska Pacific-Tribunen* in Seattle and Vilhelm Berger of *Nordstjernan (The North Star)* of New York; see Gillgren to Ernst Skarstedt, Jan. 16 and Oct. 8, 1920, Skarstedt papers; Berger, *Svensk-amerikanska meditationer* (Rock Island: by the author, 1916), 80.

[45] For Person's standing among his colleagues, see his obituaries in *Nordstjernan*, July 29, 1921, 7; *Svenska Kuriren*, July 28, 1921, 10; *Svenska Amerikanaren*, July 28, 1921, 1; for Brown, see the grudging acknowledgment of one of his favorite adversariers, Oliver Linder, in "The Swedish-American Press," 342, and "Svensk-amerikanska tidningspressen," 192.

[46] See, for instance, the Person obituaries mentioned above; Person's own view is in Ernst Skarstedt, *Pennfäktare: Svensk-amerikanska författare och tidningsmän* (Stockholm: Åhlén & Åkerlunds förlag, 1930), 149; Brown did not consider Person difficult, see "Autobiography," 13-14.

[47] Linder to G.N. Swan, July 13, 1934, Swan papers, Swenson Swedish Immigration Center; *cf.* the comment in Linder, "The Swedish-American Press," 342.

[48] Brown, "The Swedes Among Us," American Mercury 8(May 1926):11; for the reaction, see Brown, "The Swedes among us," Arbetaren, May 27, 1926; Brown, "'The Swedes among us' än en gång," Arbetaren, June 17, 1926, 8.

[49] "Svenska Journalistförbundet i Amerika," in *Svensk-amerikanska pressen och Svenska Journalistförbundet i Amerika* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1923); both Person and Brown had high hopes for the organization but were ultimately disappointed, see Person to Skarstedt, Oct. 20, 1920; Brown, "Min egen spalt," *Svenska Canada-Tidningen*, May 12, 1921, 2; Spectator (Brown), "Från Utsiktstornet," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, Aug. 3, 1921, 9; Brown, "Autobiography," 34.

[50] Marion Marzolf, "The Danish Immigrant Newspaper," conference paper, Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies, Seattle, 1984; an example of an early hostile view is Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration* (New York: Macmillan, 1912, 261.

[51] Söderström.

[52] Park, 360, 363; Hanno Hardt gives a rather benevolent interpretation of Park's "natural history," one that accepts cultural diversity; Hardt, "The Foreign-Language Press in American Press History," *Journal of Communication* 39(2, 1989):122; this author agrees with other, less benevolent interpreters, such as Jon Bekken and Michael Schudson; see Bekken, "'No Weapon So Powerful': Working-Class Newspapers in the United States," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 12(2, 1988):107; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 40..

[53] The European-American difference surfaced again in the debate over European television in the late 1980s, where the commercial "American" system was contrasted to the "European" public-service one, see Winand Geller and Jochen Zimmer, "Fernsehmedien zwischen "Amerikanisierung" und "Europäisierung," *Rundfunk und Fernsehen* 36(4, 1988):514-20.